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5 November 1980

LATIN AMERICA REPORT

No. 2211

CONTENTS

INTER-AMERICAN AFFAIRS

| | |
|--|---|
| Cuba Involved in Recent Terrorist Attacks in Guadeloupe (Nicole Kern; LE FIGARO, 26 Sep 90) | 1 |
| Spanish Paper Says Journalism Most Dangerous Profession in L.A. (EXCELSIOR, 23 Aug 80) | 3 |

ARGENTINA

| | |
|--|----|
| Viola's Line of Thought Reviewed (CONVICCION, 4 Oct 80) | 5 |
| Biographic Profile of Newly Appointed President (LA NACION, 4 Oct 80) | 8 |
| National Figures Comment on Viola Appointment (CLARIN, 5 Oct 80) | 11 |
| Viola's Predetermined Path to Presidency Surveyed (LA NACION, 6 Oct 80) | 13 |

BOLIVIA

| | |
|--|----|
| 'DER SPIEGEL' Interviews Former President Gueller (Lidia Gueller Interview; DER SPIEGEL, 27 Oct 80) | 16 |
| Interior Minister's Drug Connections With Military Cited (Luiz Claudio Cunha; VEJA, 8 Oct 80) | 22 |

BRAZIL

| | |
|---|----|
| Exiled Colonel Terms Brazilian Liberalization a Farce (TRIBUNA POPULAR, 12-18 Sep 80; EL NACIONAL, 12 Sep 80) | 24 |
| Press Conference Further Comments, by Mario Villegas | |

| | |
|--|----|
| Figueiredo Confirms Determination To Develop Democracy (O GLOBO, 26 Sep 80) | 28 |
| Brisola Proposes Opposition Group Forum as Alternative (Leonel Brisola Interview; FOLHA DE SAO PAULO, 21 Sep 80) | 30 |
| Navy Minister Examines Domestic, International Issues (MANCHETE, 27 Sep 80; O GLOBO, 26 Sep 80) | 33 |
| Terrorism Assessed, Eduardo da Silva Fonseca Maximiano Interview Persian Gulf Conflict | |
| Alternative Sources of Energy Under Study (Theresa Martins; FOLHA DE SAO PAULO, 20 Sep 80) | 38 |
| Alcohol Is Fuel for One-Fourth of Cars Built This Year (VEJA, 17 Sep 80) | 42 |
| Agriculture Minister: Seed Shortage Will Not Affect Crop (O ESTADO DE SAO PAULO, 24 Sep 80) | 49 |
| Frost Damages Southern Wheat Crop (O GLOBO, 20 Sep 80) | 50 |
| Development Program for Central West Discussed (O ESTADO DE SAO PAULO, 18 Sep 80) | 52 |

CHILE

| | |
|--|----|
| FRG Newspaper Interviews Junta Member Matthei (Fernando Matthei Interview; DIE WELT, 22 Sep 80) | 53 |
| Image Abroad Deemed Important, Underestimated (Editorial; EL MERCURIO, 10 Oct 80) | 55 |
| Administrative Reform Plans Endorsed (Editorial; EL MERCURIO, 7 Oct 80) | 57 |
| Briefs | |
| Congress on Accident Prevention | 59 |
| Trade Mission in Singapore | 59 |
| ODEPLAN Director to FRG | 59 |
| Creation of Space Committee | 59 |
| British Bank Loan | 59 |
| New Offshore Oil Rig | 59 |
| Import Figures | 60 |
| Agriculture Minister in Japan | 60 |
| Trade Deficit | 60 |
| Trade With Spain | 60 |
| Publication of Magazine Banned | 60 |
| Salary Readjustment | 60 |

CUBA

| | |
|--|----|
| Ethiopian Foreign Minister Note on Horn of Africa Status (Gedie-Georgis Felleke; GRANMA, 12 Sep 80) | 61 |
| 'GRANMA' Scores Venezuela's COPEI for Saboteur Ruling (GRANMA WEEKLY REVIEW, 12 Oct 80) | 64 |
| Charges 'Complicity', Editorial COPEI Accused of Wrong-Doing COPEI Involved in Acquittal | |
| Jorge Risquet Commemorates 'GRANMA' Anniversary (GRANMA WEEKLY REVIEW, 12 Oct 80) | 70 |
| Hart on Art, Literature as Class View (Armando Hart Interview; GRANMA WEEKLY REVIEW, 12 Oct 80) | 74 |
| Need for Work Standardization Explained (Jose Nornielis; GRANMA, 11 Sep 80) | 78 |
| Council of Ministers Issues New Wages for Sugar Industry (GRANMA, 15 Sep 80) | 80 |

GUADELOUPE

| | |
|---|----|
| Terrorists, White Racism, Fewer Exports Seen Making Future Bleak (Thierry Desjardins; LE FIGARO, 7 Oct 80) | 96 |
|---|----|

GUATEMALA

| | |
|---|-----|
| Paper Mocks Nicaraguan Criticism of Lucas' Peace Rally Speech (Editorial; EL IMPARCIAL, 10 Sep 80) | 101 |
|---|-----|

HONDURAS

| | |
|---|-----|
| U.S. Support of Democratic Processes in Region Upheld (Editorial; LA PRENSA, 6 Sep 80) | 103 |
| CTH, CONEP Present Views on New Constitution (LA PRENSA, 27, 29 Sep 80) | 105 |
| Private Enterprise Menaced Social Guarantees Reviewed | |

NICARAGUA

| | |
|--|-----|
| Part III of Catholic Bishops' Response to FSLN on Religion (EL NUEVO DIARIO, 22 Oct 80) | 114 |
|--|-----|

PERU

| | |
|--|-----|
| Education Minister on Teachers' Strikes (CORREO, 15 Oct 80) | 117 |
|--|-----|

VENEZUELA

| | |
|--|-----|
| Montes de Oca Challenges Caldera's Position in COPEI (BOQUERIA, 15 Sep 80) | 118 |
| Left Unable To Unify, Petkoff, Rangel Interviewed (Teodoro Petkoff, Jose Vicente Rangel Interviews; BOQUERIA, 15 Sep 80) | 124 |

CUBA INVOLVED IN RECENT TERRORIST ATTACKS IN GUADELOUPE

Paris LE FIGARO in French 26 Sep 80 p 6

[Article by Nicole Kern: "Guadeloupe Attacks Masterminded by Cuba"]

[Text] In the final analysis, everything is not as simple as one might think. Undoubtedly, the GLA (Armed Liberation Group) was blamed a little too quickly for the series of attacks which took place last week at Pointe-a-Pitre, Guadeloupe, during a "Corsican-style" black night. At the start of the investigation it was even thought that the death of the gendarme-artificer was accidental. But today the investigators think that the situation was entirely different and that this series of terrorist attacks cannot be compared to the attacks during which bullets were fired at Counsellor-General Vivies and the manager of a big department store from continental France, nor even the explosive attack against the gendarmerie post at Sainte-Anne, but rather an act of terrorists perpetrated in Guyana against a gasoline storage facility at Kourou and a gendarmerie post. They are now sure that one must see the hand of Cuba in this.

Little by little, Cuban influence has spread over the islands of the Caribbean, but the little islands of prosperity, represented by the French departments in America, constitute an obstacle to Castro's hegemony. Recently, the political map however was modified in that part of the world, a particularly sensitive one, with one particular withdrawal by the Marxists; this retreat emerged on Dominica, an island located between Martinique and Guadeloupe, where elections led to the defeat of the pro-Castro forces. This tendency is also in the process of being reversed at Sainte-lucie and Saint-Vincent. One can thus understand the importance which, as far as Cuba is concerned, springs right now from a destabilization of the French departments which are as many ramparts standing in the way of Cuban influence.

People are more and more certain, in Guadeloupe, that the series of attacks reveals an undertaking that was remote-controlled from abroad even though it was carried out by a handful of citizens of Guadeloupe who had gotten training in Cuba. The investigators as a matter of fact have discovered troubling similarities between the attacks in Kourou and those at Pointe-a-Pitre. In particular, there was a very high level of technical preparation and a determination to kill, as revealed by the way in which the explosive charges were set; a second explosion was to take place a certain time after the first one, once the forces of public order had arrived on the spot.

Investigations are thus being oriented in that direction. It is known that two Guyanese are currently being charged with terrorism in the State Security Court and that two others were identified but so far could not be apprehended.

The population of Guadeloupe but also the population of Martinique undoubtedly suffered a shock and, consciously or not, refuse to recognize the persons behind these criminal actions as members of their communities. And precisely because the people hope very quickly to drive the demons out, precisely because of that everybody wants to have the guilty ones apprehended quickly. But the investigation is not easy because, according to all evidence, the terrorists are few in number, well-trained and well-organized.

During his visit to Martinique and Guadeloupe early this week, Paul Dijoud asserted the determination of the French government to do the utmost to make sure that the guilty persons will be punished, especially since, after the trials represented by the hurricanes, the two departments have every reason to believe in their future.

The ambitious but realistic improvement of the leeward coast of Guadeloupe, new investments for tourism and industry, lead us to think that the French Antilles have numerous assets for the next 10 years; but it is obvious that these assets cannot be utilized effectively except in a climate of confidence and calm, something which precisely prevails on Martinique and Guadeloupe today for the vast majority of the inhabitants.

This is why Paul Dijoud feels that it is above all necessary to reassure the French back home that they are wrong in believing that these acts, with racist overtones, reflect the feeling and the opinion of the local population whereas, on the contrary, these actions are being unanimously condemned.

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CSG: 3100

SPANISH PAPER SAYS JOURNALISM MOST DANGEROUS PROFESSION IN L.A.

Mexico City EXCELSIOR in Spanish 23 Aug 80 pp 3-A, 17-A

[Text] Madrid, 22 Aug (IPS)--The Madrid newspaper DIARIO 16 published today a lengthy report in which it states that the most dangerous profession in Latin America today is that of journalist.

The report is carried on the front page under the headline "Dictators Against the Press" and is illustrated with photographs of several journalists who have been victims of reprisals in Latin America and with a drawing showing Generals Augusto Pinochet, Jorge R. Videla and Luis Garcia Mexa as the worst enemies of freedom of information.

DIARIO 16 cites the resolutions of the Latin American Journalists Federation (FELAP) which carried out a symbolic protest last Tuesday with a work stoppage and 3 minutes of silence in Latin American editorial offices in memory of three Mexican newsmen who were assassinated in El Salvador.

After citing numerous cases of persecution of the press, such as the kidnapping in Chile of Guillermo Norambuena, director of information services of Radio Chilena; the death of the young reporter Jose Eduardo Jara as a result of torture, also in Chile; the 30-month imprisonment and subsequent expulsion from the country of Jacobo Timerman, former director of LA OPINION of Buenos Aires; the arrest of Oscar Penafranco, vice president of FELAP in Bolivia; and so forth, the report charged that there is an organized campaign to dominate the news media in the countries under totalitarian regimes.

Countries Dangerous for Journalists

The report indicates, based on factual information, that the most dangerous countries for journalists at present are: El Salvador, Chile, Bolivia, Argentina, Guatemala and Uruguay.

The newspaper quotes a statement by Argentine journalist Jacobo Timerman, who has pointed out that "the press can do more for human rights than the Pope, the United Nations and Amnesty International." And it is precisely for that reason that dictators persecute journalists so harshly.

"Aside from the professionals who have been assassinated, imprisoned and tortured in various Latin American countries," the Spanish newspaper says, "there are several

thousand who have had to go into exile, many of them taking refuge in embassies. And even today, 7 years after the Pinochet military coup in Chile, there are several hundred journalists who are prevented from returning to their country because they are considered to be 'dangerous to the security of the state,' and several of them have lost their citizenship."

The newspaper DIARIO 16 points out that in spite of everything, journalists are in some ways privileged, since the governments are afraid to harm them because of the international clamor that arises in their defense. But in spite of this Latin American dictatorships such as those of Videla, Pinochet, Garcia Mesa and others, prefer to run the risk of protest against them and to eliminate impartial journalists.

DIARIO 16 states that one of Pinochet's first concerns when he staged the coup on 11 September 1973--as the dictator himself discloses in his book "El Dia Decisivo"--was the operation to silence the domestic radio stations. Garcia Mesa did the same thing in Bolivia, since even before they had gotten President Lidia Gueiler to sign her resignation the military had occupied the studios of the Catholic radio station FIDES.

DIARIO 16 also points out that dictators are not in favor of holding trials for journalists because they fear that things will come to light which they prefer to keep hidden. This is the case of the Bolivians, who arrested Mary Helen Spooner, a correspondent for the English newspaper FINANCIAL TIMES, in La Paz, Bolivia.

But she was not tried because the proof that she has of ties between the military men who staged the coup and the traffic in drugs might have been aired in public.

"The profession of the journalist," DIARIO 16 concludes, "if not the oldest, is certainly the most dangerous under the totalitarian regimes of Latin America."

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C80: 30:0

VIOLE'S LINE OF THOUGHT REVIEWED

Source: *Alree CONVICION* in Spanish 4 Oct 80 p 11

(Foot.) A review of the opinions expressed by retired Lt Gen Roberto Viola on topics of institutional or political interest revealed the following items:

Presidential Aspirations: "I have already stated that I do not have such desire to be president." (Report in *LA CAPITAL*, *Sur del Plata*, 1/22/80)

"You ask me if I want to be president; if I answer no, very few people will believe it." (idem)

"If they have forgotten about me in 8 months, it is because they have found a better person." (idem)

Political Aspirations: "I will not engage in politics in the classical sense, but I will continue striving to ensure a successful development of the Process." (Report in *LA CAPITAL*, *Sur del Plata*, 1/22/80)

"To try to exercise power without engaging in politics is utopian and unrealistic." (Speech on occasion of installation of General Bignardine, 12/17/79)

Status of Process: "The great national effort initiated on 24 March 1976 has successfully completed the first cycle, having triumphed over historically decisive circumstances. Now the final success awaits us." (Military Academy, farewell to generals, 4/11/80)

"If the Process is supposed to lead into a new stage of faith and hope, it should not burn itself out; it should continue even though its development requires the adoption of different forms." (Farewell to Army, 12/8/79)

"The mission consists of beginning a new historical cycle that will allow Argentina to make a strong debut in the third millennium of our Christian era." (idem)

"We live in very peculiar circumstances. The country cannot afford to make another mistake, so the Process will take its time in formulating its aspirations. It will take precautions to avoid new frustrations." (idem)

Institutional Future: "A rejuvenating and hopeful vision of our institutional future, of our country's tomorrow, cannot be made a reality without the active, generous

and open support of all Argentines." (Military Academy, Farewell to generals, 6/11/80)

"In a freely elected political system, a people's spirit, principles and ideology are reflected. It is the tool which makes it feasible to carry out the necessary actions to realize their hopes." (Farewell to Army, 12/26/79)

"The future should attract all our attention and inspire the best of our intelligence." (idem)

"To determine honestly if we are democratic, that is, capable of living under the inspiration of these ideals and putting them into practice, even though that involves a constant effort." (idem)

"If we move forward without letting ourselves be ruled by prejudices about past experiences, without falling into speculative demagoguery about the future to be built; if we act with prudence, reason, honesty and objectivity, Argentina's success is a foregone conclusion." (idem)

Position of the Armed Forces: "The Armed Forces will actively participate in all of the Process that leads us to a definitive solution to the Argentine political problem." (Farewell to Army, 12/26/79)

Military power is not autonomous; it serves a higher authority, the political leadership, which is completely responsible for decisions." (Farewell to Second Army Corps, 12/7/79)

Economic ideas: "I believe in an economic system based on the philosophy and basic concepts that orient the system applied by the Process." (Farewell to Army, 12/26/79)

"The system, like all systems, should have an operative model with a clear political orientation that will enable us to achieve the objectives that meet the national interest at a given moment." (idem)

"Such a model should allow maximum use of the nation's resources and its productive capacity, establishing a profile that includes the activities in which we have comparative advantages, as well as those that should be undertaken by the country because of their degree of technology, high aggregate value or strategic importance." (idem)

Dialog and National Unity: "Through the vituperated exchange of opinions, constructive dialog and mutual understanding, we must enrich and strengthen our cherished national unity." (Military Academy, farewell to generals, 6/11/80)

"National unity, which should lead to agreement among Argentines on the ideology and institutional framework that will bring it about, means establishing an accepted political system." (Farewell to Army, 12/26/79)

Political Dialog: "I agree 90 percent with the implementation of political dialog, although I believe that this call, this proposal, should have come 2 years earlier." (Report in LA CAPITAL, Sur del Plata, 1/22/80)

Political Parties: "Fundamental and irreplaceable model of the republican system, they have the great responsibility of forming organizations that are representative, that provide valid channels for citizens' concerns and schools for civic education." (Farewell to Army, 12/26/79)

"They should be the focus of reflection about our problems rather than electoral enterprises." (Idem)

"They should resist the temptation to confuse the party with the nation, to believe that an occasional majority implies the right to govern extralegally." (Idem)

"They should propose serious and realistic programs, avoiding utopian promises." (Idem)

"I am convinced that the solution to our political problem is the key to resolve the other issues that concern us." (Idem)

"I am convinced that there can be broad areas of agreement among almost all the parties." (To the foreign press, 12/22/79)

Electoralism: "We must not be lured by the simple idea that politics is an electoral process. This is an important element in a democratic system, but that is not all. If that was true in the past, it should not be in the future." (Speech on occasion of installation of General Nicolaiden, 12/17/79)

Peronism: "It will not be able to stay united. Just one act of persecution, which will not happen under any circumstances, could open the possibility of a monolithic unity among that political group." (Report in LA CAPITAL, Mar del Plata, 1/22/80)

"When they were in power they showed, after Peron's death, that they had a propensity for disintegration, disunity; in their case, power divides." (Idem)

Civilian Participation: "Gradualism does not simply mean staggered elections. It goes beyond that, aiming at a daily advancement toward the rule of law and the implementation of civilian participation in government decisions and functions, until there is full civilian rule with no surprises." (Farewell to Army, 12/26/79)

8926

CSO: 3010

BIOGRAPHIC PROFILE OF NEWLY APPOINTED PRESIDENT

Buenos Aires LA NACION in Spanish 4 Oct 80 pp 1, 11

[Text] Three different periods can be distinguished in the professional and public career of retired Lieut Gen Roberto Eduardo Viola, named by the Military Junta to serve as president of the nation.

The first consists of his military education in the Infantry. He was born in Buenos Aires on 13 October 1924, and entered the Military Academy on 3 March 1942. He graduated from that school on 21 December 1944. The new second lieutenant was assigned to the 27th Infantry Regiment--today the Fifth Regiment--where he served from 1945 to 1951.

From there Viola went to the War College, where in 1954 he was designated Staff Officer. Later he was assigned to command the Third Army--now the First Army Corps--and then went on to become group chief of the Professional Corps School--now the Combat Support Service School--and subsequently he served in the office of the undersecretary of war and the Army General Staff.

In 1956 Viola took the information course for officers, and in 1965, by this time a colonel, he took the advanced strategy course at the Army Center for Higher Learning.

Between 1967 and 1969 he served as adviser to the Argentine delegation to the Inter-American Defense Board, where he worked under Captain Lambruschini. Upon returning to the country, he was named assistant director of the Military Academy, and in December 1971 he was promoted to Brigadier general. By that time he was already commander of the Third Infantry Brigade.

Second Period

The second period in the new president's career is that which, because of his responsibilities, began to project his reputation beyond the confines of the military.

On 2 June 1973 he was named second commander and chief of staff of the Second Army Corps, a post he held until 20 December 1973. At that time he was named secretary to the Army commander in chief.

On 20 May 1975 he assumed command of the Second Army Corps, and on 29 August of that year he was promoted to chief of the Army General Staff. In December of 1975 he was promoted to major general.

Lieut Gen Videla, who was a classmate and close friend, named Viola to succeed him as commander in chief of the Army in 1978. Taking that job meant promotion to lieutenant general, which took place on 31 July 1978. At that time he swore that "without conditions, time limits or fixed deadlines, firmly resisting any sort of internal or external pressure, we fervently adhere to the government's program for traveling a peaceful and free road to national unity."

As a member of the highest ranking government agency, the Military Junta, he had the opportunity to experience and participate actively in the most difficult episodes of the border conflict with Chile, and to contribute to the coordination, final drafting and approval of the Political Guidelines.

The Public Man

The public Viola by this time was already a reality; his participation in the National Reorganization Process was obvious, and was based on his firm convictions.

Viola's manifest belief in democratic forms of government (on 20 October 1978 he asserted in Caracas that "Argentina will return to an authentic and real democracy") goes hand in hand with his conviction of the need for a revitalization of these formulas, and his decision not to abandon the task undertaken by the Armed Forces in 1976.

In this regard, his farewell message to the Army (he turned command over to Lieut Gen Galtieri on 28 December last year) is a true indication of these principles.

"We do not have easy times ahead of us. We have passed through just the first stage," he said in that document, "of a hard road that will not be immune to difficulties, troubles and misunderstandings. But it should lead us inexorably to the dawning of a new historical era in this nation. The road taken by the Armed Forces in this process does not and will not have any return route."

He also stated on that occasion: "The Army of which we are a part is the protagonist in a process that has clearly identified its objectives, which imply the establishment of a system in which mankind, liberty, justice, law, institutions, reason, Christian faith, in sum, the entire nation--all are privileged elements."

Third Period

The beginning of the third period of the new president's career can be pegged at the moment he retired from the Army. After that point in time it was considered probable that he would be called upon to succeed Lieut Gen Videla in the 1981-84 presidential term.

Many expectations were based on that probability, because many sectors considered him the most suitable man to lead the expansion of the political liberalization. This is not surprising if we bear in mind that the new president maintained that through the political parties "great agreements will be possible. Their existence is not the issue; it is how their role is to be defined."

Upon leaving the active ranks of the Army, he said: "I do not have much desire to be president, but I would accept the appointment because that is one more act of

service." At that time he was responding to a query from a journalist, and he added: "On other occasions I already indicated that I cannot refuse if they name me. You ask me if I want to be president; if I say no, few people will believe me. But at one point I answered that I do not have much desire to be president."

He also claimed on that occasion that he would not engage in politics "in the classic sense," but that he would continue to work so that the Reorganization Process "will be successful."

Thus, he managed to fend off publicity about himself. He plunged into the study of national problems, an attitude which, despite his intention to remain in silence, did not hide from public opinion the increasing likelihood of his candidacy.

Now the Military Junta's decision will make retired Lieut Gen Roberto Eduardo Viola president of the nation as of 29 March next year. It might be worthwhile to note that he once remarked: "The National Reorganization Process is not against a certain social sector, political party or economic system; its purpose is to correct excesses, prevent diversion, and reorder and direct national life; in sum, to facilitate the full development of our potential. There are no institutions that are considered enemies of the Process; its enemies are subversives, dishonest and corrupt people who are responsible for administrative, economic, business or union chaos."



Lt Gen Roberto Eduardo Viola

8926

CSO: 3010

NATIONAL FIGURES COMMENT ON VIOLA APPOINTMENT

Buenos Aires CLARIN in Spanish 5 Oct 80 p 2

[Text] The political and official circles of the nation continued to comment yesterday on the appointment of Lt. Gen Roberto Viola to complete the presidential term that is to begin in March 1981.

There is agreement that the Junta's decision "satisfies expectations." The governor of the province of Buenos Aires, Gen Iberico Saint Jean, indicated that although the appointment was no surprise, the official acceptance "makes the importance of this event crystal clear," he said.

He added: "Changing personnel on all levels leads to new expectations, and is very healthy. Those of us who have been in government more than 4 years are being gradually worn down, so that the only thing we can do is offer our complete cooperation to General Viola."

Juan Carlos Pugliese, minister of economics under Arturo Illia, remarked on the procedure used to choose the future leader. He said: "We are confident this will be the last time this procedure is used. I don't think there is anything more to be said."

The Military Junta's selection was also considered positive by the comptroller of the Justicialist Party in Cordoba, Transito Rigaturo, who stated that "the president will be supported by Argentines," and went on to say that "national unity will be the mainstay of the new government."

Similar ideas were expressed by the former national legislator for the Justicialist Party, Julio Antun. He asserted: "The citizenry will hold its tongue and not commit itself until the nominee draws up his program; only then can a valid opinion be given. I hope, of course, that he will be the last de facto president."

Reasons, Not Emotions

Jorge Aguado, president of Argentine Rural Confederations (CRA), claimed that Viola's appointment "is the best appointment the Military Junta could have made."

He described the future president as "a very steady man who obviously listens to reason and not emotion."

Aguado denied that Viola was a "populist," and rejected reports that he had been offered the post of minister of agriculture in the future government.

The democratic leader of Mendoza, Anadeo Frugoli, expressed his satisfaction because the Junta had decided "long before the anticipated extension was over."

He also pointed out that "the word process implies the existence of a series of stages or successive phases," indicating that Videla and Viola "give the impression of continuity in actions and time."

Jorge Spilimbergo, leader of the Popular Leftist Front (national faction), stated: "The appointment of General Viola at the end of a secretive, conflicting and not entirely democratic process does not alter the continuity of a power that is harmful to the country."

Federico Bravo, leader of the Blackist Party headed by his brother Leopoldo Bravo, current ambassador to the USSR, called General Viola "a democratic man, defender of federalism, upright and serious." He commented: "His appointment is in line with the country's desires; everyone considers him a popular man."

PDP

The Progressive Democratic Party (PDP) issued a statement expressing its concern that General Viola as president should support more participation by civilians in government, advocating a rapid normalization of political parties.

The head of the provincial committee of the Radicals of Mendoza, Alfredo Moso, said that "it is upsetting that the Military Junta took 30 days to select the president of the nation," and expressed his desire "that this be the last military administration."

Menendez Silent

The former commander of the Third Army Corps, Maj Gen Luciano Benjamin Menendez, refused to comment on the appointment of Lieutenant General Viola as president of the nation.

The high official, who is now in retirement, led a military uprising in September 1979 which threatened Viola's position as commander of that military branch. The revolt failed, and Menendez was arrested at a regiment of Curuzú Cuatiá, in the province of Corrientes.

Menendez lives in the city of Córdoba, and when he was asked about the appointment of the new chief of state, he answered: "Of course I have an opinion on the matter. But I prefer not to make it public now. That is all."

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CSO: 3010

VIOLA'S PREDETERMINED PATH TO PRESIDENCY SURVEYED

Buenos Aires LA NACION in Spanish 6 Oct 80 pp 8, 20

[From the column "Political Week"]

[Text] Growth of a Reputation

The American ambassadors to Buenos Aires have cultivated a reputation for being among the best informed men in terms of Argentine politics. The most recent of these ambassadors, Dr Raul Castro, has made an appreciable contribution to the growth of this reputation.

In the last quarter of 1979, though quite a while earlier than the end-of-year shuffling of Army personnel, the former American ambassador used to assert more firmly than any other observer in private conversations about the military political process that ended in the official announcement of the day before yesterday: "Videla's successor has already been elected. It is Viola."

Of course the United States intelligence services function in some parts of the world with greater efficiency than American taxpayers have surmised for many years. But in the specific case at hand, it is possible to infer that the conviction of the diplomat who left Buenos Aires in the middle of the year--to accompany President Carter during his election campaign--was based essentially on a personal, objective interpretation of four or five points of reference that were available, to be sure, to any Argentine citizen who was moderately well informed.

From the Beginning

"Ab ovo," as the classics said: that is, from the egg, from the beginning, the presidential destiny of Lieut Gen Viola was so crystal clear that we cannot but assert that his appointment by the Military Junta was an entirely natural and foreseeable event. Only by reducing things to the absurd could one think in recent months of the possibility that someone other than he might occupy the presidency of the nation after Lieut Gen Videla. "Alea jacta est." As we said months ago, the die was cast in the Army, when it was learned that the major generals were advising unanimously that their commander in chief vote for the candidacy of that officer.

But all was not final. The desire for unity among the internal cadres of the Armed Forces runs deep, regardless of differences in leadership that led to Tuesday's delicate entanglement in the Military Junta. That cohesion was what demanded that the

final word by the Military Junta on the presidency be awaited; in spite of everything, there is no single institution that is willing to overlook the substantive rules that govern the system that has been in effect since March 1976.

Viola, Onganía, Peron

The contemporary military political history of our country does not contain such a long, reflexive and carefully prepared presidential candidacy as the one which led to the Military Junta's Thursday decision. In a certain sense, it is true that Lieut Gen Viola is one of those officers who have returned to power (the presidency) after having had it before (in the form of the commander in chief of the Army). Before him, this feat was achieved by Lieut Gen Onganía and Juan Peron, the latter after 18 years.

Although Viola's case is, in that sense, more similar to that of Onganía than that of Peron, it is also true that there are some essential differences between the two situations: in the first place, Onganía reached the presidency through a military coup to which two of the four corps commanders were opposed; in the second place, Lieut Gen Viola has been backed by all the commanders of the Army without exception, in his quest for the Casa Rosada, but what is more, his presence in the public eye throughout the first 9 months of 1980 (since he retired as commander in chief) was the official responsibility of the Army. To put it precisely, it was the chiefs and high-ranking officers of the active forces, at the heart of the Army Command, who took it upon themselves during that time, as a military mission, to organize the periodic agenda--discreet but very active--of Lieut Gen Viola's work.

Renewed Expectations

amid such a well-publicized situation at the heart of the Army, attention was distracted during the last 2 weeks from at least two retired generals, who were mentioned in some circles as "dark horses," as the Americans call the silent candidates who are put in at the last minute. These generals decided to detract from the capricious comments involving them.

The man who will be the next president of the nation has been described in the past 48 hours by international news agencies as a genuine democrat, or as one of the Argentine military officers with the most firm resolve to come to grips with the reconstruction of the nation's republican institutions.

For now, the sum of the statements made by political leaders upon learning of the decision of the Military Junta has been basically one of renewed expectations, not rejection. Among the voices raised to express satisfaction with the Military Junta's appointment was that of the minister of economics.

It was not for nothing that the minister had met with Lieut Gen Viola at a crucial moment during the Junta's deliberations, some 3 weeks earlier, even as some of the secretaries of state in his sector were openly opposing the idea of Lieut Gen Viola's being chosen by the Military Junta, and were rejecting the very possibility. When the cards were revealed, however, fate had dealt a winning hand to Viola, despite the evidence to the contrary which those officials and their allies had claimed to see.

1981 Budget

As we reported in yesterday's edition, Lieut Gen Viola will not make any statement before 15 October. Therefore, it would be useful as an orientation to the economic situation to note some recent events.

One of those events, which has not been thoroughly examined yet, [words missing]

There were undoubtedly many varied reasons for the man who has now been named the next president by the Military Junta to sidestep the issue under those circumstances. Some of those reasons would probably be found in an examination of the internal policy of the Army between 1976 and 1979.

It is well known that the situation in the upper echelons of the Army in 1976 forced Lieut Gen Videla to assume the presidency while retaining the post of commander in chief. Thus, one of the agreements made with the other branches of the military concerning the separation of the offices of president and commander in chief, had to be put off.

Unity and Pluralism

Lieut Gen Viola will be taking office a little more than 5 years after those events. From that point on he has had many opportunities to demonstrate his unusual patience for dealing with the tangled web of politics. Nothing has been easy for him, but he has progressed slowly, leaving behind obstacles which seemed unsurmountable in 1976, 1977 and 1978. This weekend there was no indication in any of the upper ranks of the three military branches that the suspense that had been deliberately maintained nearly until the end of September regarding Viola's candidacy, was anything more than just that: pure suspense, something which had its own political value independently of the results.

But the unforeseen events that took place between Monday and Tuesday, when the logical sequence of the collective behavior of the Military Junta was broken, ended up, it could be said, from the military point of view, giving Lieut Gen Viola an even clearer path to the Casa Rosada than was expected. Since Viola has not exactly been the fruit of his own efforts, it can be deduced that chance has at least been among his most effective allies during this process.

Meanwhile, it should be recalled that the Military Junta was bogged down for a couple of months between the summer and autumn of 1978 before it reelected Lieut Gen Videla. To reelect him it was necessary to call a meeting of the Plenary Junta. Thus, the Military Junta managed to come to a quicker and less risky decision at the beginning of this week, despite the dilemma.

In Lieut Gen Videla's recent speech in Mercedes, whole paragraphs can be found which his successor would not hesitate to endorse. The most significant ones refer to the need to reaffirm national unity and to defend the type of pluralist structure which characterizes Argentine nationality.

8926
CSO: 3010

'DER SPIEGEL' INTERVIEWS FORMER PRESIDENT GUEILER

DW281454 Hamburg DER SPIEGEL in German 27 Oct 80 pp 185-192

[Interview with Lidia Gueiler, former Bolivian president, by Jutta Fischbeck-- at Gueiler's daughter's home near Paris, date not given]

[Text] SPIEGEL: Mrs Gueiler, during the summer you were forced to flee to the Papal Embassy in the Bolivian capital La Paz to escape the rebellious military men of your country. How did you manage your departure into exile?

Lidia Gueiler: The foreign press, I think in Chile, shortly after the coup published something that the Bolivian military people did not like. The military people then charged me with having misused the right to asylum and continued to detain me. The diplomatic corps and the Nuncio as its doyen then intervened time and again with the Foreign Ministry on my behalf, and finally they were successful.

SPIEGEL: Were you specifically threatened by the government while you were at the Papal Embassy?

Lidia Gueiler: The interior minister of the military government told the Nuncio that he could not guarantee in any way that I would safely make it to the airport from the Papal Embassy. But, thanks to the firmness of the Nuncio and the Bolivian church in defending human rights, I was allowed to leave the country after all.

SPIEGEL: Is it true that the planned television broadcast on your forced resignation could not be made at first because you showed visible traces of having been mistreated?

Lidia Gueiler: Naturally my appearance showed the burden which the coup, which seemed to me to be a monstrous treason, was on me. I looked very tired and unhappy and I felt so utterly powerless.

SPIEGEL: Were you tormented physically?

Lidia Gueiler: No. But after 30 years of political struggle for the liberation of the Bolivian people and a mere 19 days prior to the transfer of governmental power to a government that emerged from free elections I would never have voluntarily surrendered power to the military.

I was practically put under arrest in the presidential residence, I could not leave. Soldiers were posted in front of every door. When they brought me the prepared resignation statement they told me that I should sign to avoid greater bloodshed, that the seizure of power had been decided on anyway.

SPIEGEL: In the 155 years since your country's independence about 200 coups d'etat have been staged, most of them by military people. This is more than in any other country on the Latin American continent, which is not particularly poor when it comes to coups anyway. Why is this so?

Lidia Gueller: This is attributable to the fact that the military men regrettably have turned their institution into a political party. Time and again generals have had the ambition of crowning their military career with the office of the president. This personal hunger for power leads to incessant violent revolutions.

SPIEGEL: But are there not any historical or sociological reasons for this phenomenon as well?

Lidia Gueller: I believe that the personal quest for power on the part of the military is the main reason. In most cases the military men used the office of president for personal enrichment. A normal soldier in Bolivia does not earn much. This is why military people have always been a willing instrument in the hands of those wielding economic power.

SPIEGEL: Could you, under these circumstances, ever seriously expect that the military people would not try to stage a coup against you?

Lidia Gueller: I was so optimistic as to believe just that. I think it was my mistake that I believed their word. If you are decent and keep your promises, you always believe that others do also. Besides, during the 8 months of my term of office I was practically a dike against the constant desire for coups. Had I not had my political experience and a great deal of patience, the coup would probably have come earlier.

SPIEGEL: What caused you to take charge of the office of president in such an explosive situation?

Lidia Gueller: I had become the president of the House of Deputies and ultimately of congress. After the last elections parliament unanimously agreed to appoint me transitional president because nobody had emerged the clear victor from the elections and because the parties failed to reach agreement on a candidate. I believed at the time that jointly with the political forces that put me into this office I might save democracy.

SPIEGEL: Basically you owe your office as president to the inability of the political parties to agree on one of the candidates who were running. Is this weakness not also a reason why the military people time and again interfere in politics?

Lidia Gueller: During the preceding 7 years of military dictatorship, all political parties and democratic institutions had been smashed. The advocates of democracy were still disorganized. This is but natural. But the disorganization of the parties at that time inflicted great harm indeed on the process of democratization. The group egoism of the parties was extremely lamentable. I believe that this reflected a lack of political maturity and political perspective.

[DW281523] SPIEGEL: Did the military people ever definitely promise you that they would not meddle with the democratization process?

Lidia Gueller: Yes, to me as well as to the political parties. General Garcia Meza, for example, who later headed the coup, expressly assured me, at the time I was forced to appoint him supreme commander of the ground forces, that he intended to secure democracy from this post. Nevertheless, he subsequently threatened me with coups time and again.

SPIEGEL: Your critics accuse you of having failed to take any protective measures even though another coup was to be expected. Were you unable to take them or were you reluctant to take them?

Lidia Gueller: I could not have achieved anything at all against the armed forces by myself. The only power that backed me was parliament, and it ultimately dissolved itself under the pressure of the military.

SPIEGEL: But as the president you were simultaneously the supreme commander of the armed forces. In that capacity could you not have made timely transfers of military men into retirement or to outside posts who were known to be hatching plans for a coup?

Lidia Gueller: I tried in the beginning. I offered an ambassadorial post to Gen Garcia Meza, as I did to the incumbent minister of the interior, Col Arce Gomez. Arce Gomez had accepted, too; he wanted to go to Spain. But then he had previously talked with Garcia Meza and the other putschists, and they told him to stay.

SPIEGEL: Did Arce Gomez seem to you to be the most dangerous of them?

Lidia Gueller: I have had tips that he instigated acts of sabotage.

SPIEGEL: What kind of acts of sabotage?

Lidia Gueller: Bombing attempts, for instance. And I told him so quite frankly.

SPIEGEL: And did he admit it?

Lidia Gueller: No, naturally not. But he said, if you want me to go abroad, I will go. As I said earlier, nothing came of it. Garcia Meza and the other putschists then worked toward a coup d'etat by stating that "extremists" were bringing arms into the country to liquidate the armed forces. Since the armed forces consider themselves mainly a military caste, this kind of propaganda was very well suited to preparing the terrain for the coup.

SPINELLI: Was Gen Garcia Mesa acting out of personal ambition, or for ideological reasons?

Lidia Gueller: Out of personal ambition. He has no ideological pretensions. When I took over, I confirmed most members of the general staffs in the commands they held, but at the request of some party leaders I did not confirm Gen Garcia Mesa. He was angry with me from that time on.

SPINELLI: The military regimes in Chile, Brazil and Argentina were at least temporarily actively supported by the big brother, the United States. Bolivia's military, however, seems to have staged the coup against the explicit wish of Washington. How did Washington try to prevent the coup?

Lidia Gueller: American Ambassador Helman was personally very much concerned to the continual rumors about a coup. As far as I can judge, the United States in this case really followed Carter's democratization policy for Latin America.

SPINELLI: Who supports, who finances the Bolivian military government?

Lidia Gueller: I think the countries who do not care much about Latin America.

SPINELLI: Argentina is said to have supplied money and arms.

Lidia Gueller: I cannot prove that. But those who pull the strings probably belong to regimes which are not interested in Bolivia's becoming democratic.

SPINELLI: When the military staged the coup, the people in the streets and in the tin mines fought against the tanks. It was to no avail,...

Lidia Gueller: The Bolivian people had no other weapon than their hope for democracy. These are helpless people without arms, almost without a political organization, who can do nothing against a long prepared and excellently planned coup d'etat.

SPINELLI: The miners tried it at least. They retired to the tin mines and took along dynamite.

Lidia Gueller: And they were the ones who blew the tanks.

SPINELLI: Helpless people and armed forces doing what they want--that is a curious affair not only in Bolivia, but also in many other Latin American countries. How do you explain it that democracy is so weak on that continent?

Lidia Gueller: Democracy is possible only if the people are educated in a democratic way, which is very costly. It is possible only if the ruling class shows maturity.

[MONTAGNA] SPINELLI: Most Latin American states, contrary to other countries of the Third World, have been independent for 1-1/2 centuries. They have had such experience with regard to democratic forms of government. And yet, the military always wins and the politicians lose. Why?

Lidia Gueller: Because the military regimes are backed by powerful economic interests, and because the military is mainly interested in economic power.

SPICER: When you were young, you fought in the national revolutionary movement of President Victor Paz Estenssoro, which in 1952 initiated in Bolivia the first social revolution of South America. The military have stopped that process, and the majority of the people, the Indians, are as poorly off as ever. Paz once said that "only violence will help in such a case." Do you think so now?

Lidia Gueller: I am not an advocate of violence, but a revolution sometimes calls for violence.

SPICER: And now? The trade unions have been dissolved, the parties suppressed and the politicians arrested or persecuted or they are in exile.

Lidia Gueller: I think that most of all we must make great efforts to reorganize our forces. Without an organization even violence would be of no use.

SPICER: Are there advocates of democracy in the Bolivian armed forces, despite everything else?

Lidia Gueller: Not all military people agree with the way of our armed forces look today. The institutionalists prefer the army to consider itself only as an institution for the defense of the country.

SPICER: And how strong are they?

Lidia Gueller: Their intellectual capacity is stronger than their fighting strength.

SPICER: The others have the rifles and will shoot at their own people in an emergency.

Lidia Gueller: This is why I say that most importantly we must reorganize.

SPICER: Aren't you afraid that history will simply repeat itself? Parties, trade unions and politicians will reorganize, trying to come to power in a democratic way, and then the next military coup will come?

Lidia Gueller: We must therefore learn from experience. The military, for example, have arrested all the powerful trade union leaders this time. Had the trade unions been better organized down to the lower level, the next rank of cadres could have taken over immediately, so that the organization could have continued to exist underground. I know that at this moment they are about to learn exactly that and will carry on.

SPICER: Emilio Sanchez, the Hamburg consul general dispatched by your government, has fought in vain against the recognition of the military regime. Now the La Paz regime demands his extradition. What would happen to him in case of extradition? Would he be imprisoned?

Lidia Gueller: Certainly. And not just that. If he were extradited it would bring him into the gravest danger. Such a politically motivated request for extradition is juridically impossible.

SPIEGEL: Mrs Gueller, you were the first woman who ever held the office of president in Bolivia, and that in an extremely difficult political situation when the attempt was being made to reintroduce democracy into Bolivia. Did the military believe that a woman could be manipulated more easily?

Lidia Gueller: At that time the military had no other choice than to accept me. If they thought they could have manipulated me, they could have staged a coup earlier. Some of the military probably admired that I managed to stay on so long.

SPIEGEL: Did they act differently toward you than they would have toward a male president?

Lidia Gueller: The military always act like the military, regardless of whether it is toward a man or a woman.

SPIEGEL: Probably not always. Some weeks prior to the coup an officer broke into your private rooms at night to force you to resign. Would he have done it if you had been a man?

Lidia Gueller: Possibly, but the officer would probably not have gotten away as he did.

SPIEGEL: He would have been shot?

Lidia Gueller: Exactly.

SPIEGEL: And what did you do?

Lidia Gueller: If I had a weapon, I would have shot him too.

SPIEGEL: Mrs Gueller, we thank you for this discussion.

CSG: 3103

INTERIOR MINISTER'S DRUG CONNECTIONS WITH MILITARY CITED

Sao Paulo VEJA in Portuguese 8 Oct 80 p 72

[Article by Luis Claudio Cunha: "The Minister of Cocaine"]

[Text] La Paz--During the first week of July this year, a two-engine Piper-Azteca aircraft exploded over a village 14 kilometers from La Paz and killed its three passengers. Near the bodies, Bolivian police found several suitcases containing \$2 million in \$50 and \$100 bills. Intrigued, they were examining the baggage when a helicopter landed amidst the wreckage and the owner of the air-taxi company that owned the Piper aircraft stepped out: it was Col Luis Arce Gomez, then chief of the Army Intelligence Service (SIE). He brusquely tore up the report the police were writing, ordering them to return to La Paz and maintain absolute silence about the episode.

This year alone, three of Arce's aircraft were destroyed in tragedies that have never been explained--in Bolivia, affairs of the colonel, minister of the interior since the takeover by Gen Luis Garcia Meza, are not subject to investigation by the police. "El Loco," as he is called by his barracks comrades, or "Arcesino" to his countless enemies, Col Luis Arce Gomez, 42, is a veteran lawbreaker. In the Rene Barrientos government, while still a captain, he was implicated in smuggling leather and cigarettes into Paraguay. As he acquired more gold braid, he was also rising through the ranks of contraband traffic. Today, Arce is the brains of the military men involved in the billion-dollar cocaine trade.

Arce's girlfriend, Rosario Poggi de Quesada, an attractive brunette of 37 who smuggled narcotics between Spain and Bolivia during the 1970's, is, officially, the secretary general of the Interior Ministry and, unofficially, second in command of the colonel's clandestine empire. Norberto "Bubby" Salomon, air-force colonel and Arce's partner in air-transport companies, is also accumulating positions in the government and in the illegal organization headed by the interior minister. After the successful coup led by Garcia Meza, Bubby Salomon was rewarded with the post of military attache in Caracas. In May, one of Salomon's aircraft had crashed at the Beni airport with 320 kilograms of cocaine aboard.

In Bolivia, a colonel's pay is equivalent to about \$800. But Salomon owns three farms and three rented homes in La Paz. As have most of the military officers who conduct the drug trade, Salomon has served in Santa Cruz de la Sierra, center of cocaine traffic in Bolivia. From Santa Cruz come rebel generals headed for La Paz and cocaine bound for the rest of the world.

Night Landings

Last June, at a meeting with Santa Cruz cocaine magnates, Gen Hugo Echeverria, commandant of the II Army Corps based in that city, was given a donation of \$2.7 million to overthrow the government and drive out the specter of traffic repression. Echeverria promised Garcia Meza he would raise the \$3 billion needed to pay off the nation's foreign debt with a group of friends--"My friends from Montero," according to the general. Montero, 45 kilometers from Santa Cruz, is virtually the first free-trade zone for cocaine on Bolivian territory.

Outside of Bolivia, friends of Arce are always subject to unexpected happenings. Alfredo "Cutuchi" Gutierrez, owner of a landing strip at kilometer 7 on the Santa Cruz-Cochabamba highway surrounded by high walls and equipped with searchlights perfect for night landings, was arrested in Miami during May of last year piloting an aircraft loaded with cocaine. He wasn't in jail more than 24 hours--but the case alerted Colonel Arce to the special precautions that must be taken in Miami, the main point of entry for drugs in the United States.

At the present time, Bolivia has six consuls in Miami--one of them is Arce's father. All of them were chosen personally by the interior minister, who is afraid of diplomatic slipups, but seems convinced that he is not exposed to unforeseen economic reprisals from the U.S. government.

At a recent party given by friends in La Paz, Colonel Arce quite enthusiastically summed up the figures on which his confidence is based. "Tin represents \$400 million a year, but cocaine brings in \$1.2 billion," the interior minister explained. "If the Americans cut off their aid, it won't be my fault if the United States is flooded with cocaine."

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EXILED COLONEL TERMS BRAZILIAN LIBERALIZATION A FARCE

Press Conference

Caracas TRIBUNA POPULAR in Spanish 12-18 Sep 80 p 5

[Text] Caracas—"The democratic opening so loudly proclaimed by the military government in Brazil is a farce," declared Col Jefferson Cardia de Alencar Osorio during a press conference held in this capital.

Col Jefferson de Alencar Osorio is the well-known member of the Brazilian Armed Forces who recently requested and was granted asylum in the Venezuelan Embassy in Brasilia. He is thinking of remaining in our country at least a year and then continuing in other countries the struggle he began some 15 years ago in Brazil when he had to take up arms in defense of constitutional order violated by previous comrades in arms when they overthrew President Joao Goulart.

From that time on, 25 March 1965, there began a period of armed struggle, initially conventional and, after being betrayed, in the guerrillas. Initially defeated and arrested, he was freed in 1977 after 10 years in prison.

With the new situation that apparently had developed in Brazil with the approval of the amnesty law, his military rank had been recognized and he had even been promoted to general.

"The Military Supreme Court not only canceled that decision but I was accused of being a terrorist," he explained. "That left me without any guarantee in Brazil. My amnesty was canceled and I had to resort to asylum. I immediately resorted to the Venezuelan Embassy."

As proof also of the fraudulent nature of the so-called "democratic opening" in Brazil, he said that only 700 of the 7,500 militarymen subject to the law were amnestied. "And only 34 of them in the whole armed forces were readmitted into the service."

Furthermore, it was an amnesty granted also so that all the political exiles might return, but they are not permitted to carry out political activities.

"It can be seen that there is pressure on the people and there are still political prisoners; you cannot carry out a public demonstration in the street; political rallies can only be held in certain places and with the permission of the police. Nor can one attack or speak out against the government," declared Colonel Alencar Osorio.

The prominent democratic fighter related also that the "opening" has been denounced by the opposition press as a formula conceived by the government to improve its image abroad while repression continues at home.

He added that "up to now the government has not dissolved the organs of repression of the armed forces or the paramilitary civilian organizations. The torture apparatus remains untouched."

The Brazilian colonel also referred to his struggles, to the armed movements that have taken place in Brazil, as well as other aspects of the political situation there, which we will report on in our next edition.

Further Comments

Caracas EL NACIONAL in Spanish 12 Sep 80 p D-18

[Reportage by Mario Villegas]

[Text] In 1948, as an active service Brazilian Army officer, Jefferson Cardim traveled to Montevideo to marry the Uruguayan Rosa de Osorio, his present wife, whom he had met in Libramento on the border between Uruguay and Brazil. On his return to Brazil, he was unexpectedly arrested. Cardim had been married on 3 January, a date on which coincidentally a testimonial had been given in honor of the Brazilian communist leader, Luis Carlos Prestes, on the occasion of his birthday. The commander under whom Jefferson Cardim served associated the latter's trip with the tribute to the communist leader and for that reason had him arrested.

But that would not be the first or last time that Colonel Jefferson Cardim de Alencar Osorio would be arrested. Earlier, in August 1943, he was arrested after making a speech against the dictatorship of Getulio Vargas and carrying out political activities against Nazi-fascism. He was a fierce enemy of the Brazilian exponents of that philosophy and fought them without respite. Later he was also arrested on various occasions in the course of his checkered political-military career, because in Brazil, unlike Venezuela, the military could participate in political activity. Except that since the overthrow of the constitutional government of Joao Goulart in 1964 only the rightist militarymen can be politically active.

The Colonel is in Caracas

Colonel Jefferson Cardim is currently in Caracas following the diplomatic asylum granted him by the Venezuelan Government because of the persecution and death threats he has undergone recently in Brazil. He is accompanied by his oldest son, Roberto Osorio, a lawyer, who together with the well-known Brazilian historian and jurist, Decio Freitas, is pressing the defense of the veteran 68-year-old colonel. His son will go to Brazil again shortly to appeal before the Supreme Military Tribunal against a perverted decision of which Cardim was the victim and by which he was declared a "terrorist" and excluded from the benefits of the amnesty law promulgated on 28 August 1979. Then they will resort to the Supreme Court, certain that they will win in the Supreme Military Tribunal.

Cardim said that he requested asylum in the Venezuelan Embassy certain that the democratic regime of President Herrera Compins would protect him from the political and military persecution in Brazil. At other times, he has taken asylum in Uruguay, Mexico and Algeria. He had never been in Venezuela before. Colonel Jefferson Cardim made his public presentation to the Venezuelan press at the headquarters of the

National Press Association where, in half Portuguese and half Spanish and helped by his son Roberto, who is quite fluent in Spanish, he spoke about the vicissitudes that his rebellious fate has brought him.

The Guerrillas

On 31 March 1964, there occurred the coup d'etat commanded by General Humberto de Castello Branco that overthrew the nationalist and constitutional government of Joao Goulart. At that time, Colonel Jefferson Cardim was in Montevideo where he occupied a diplomatic position that had been entrusted to him. One month before, Cardim had communicated from Montevideo with his friend, General Argemiro Assis Brasil, chief of Goulart's Military Household. "Give me a command, Argemiro, we must prevent the coup," Cardim said; to which his friend replied: "It is too late, Jefferson. Goulart no longer listens to me; we are lost. Stay in Montevideo, you are already in exile."

Joao Goulart arrived in Montevideo in exile, as did Leonel Brizola, who had been governor of the state of Rio Grande do Sul. After meeting with Jefferson Cardim, plans began to be prepared to install a democratic government in the state of Rio Grande do Sul, Cardim related, since Jango (as Goulart is popularly called) had great support there and two-thirds of the army forces were quartered there, the majority of them loyal to the ousted president, similarly the militia. Nevertheless, the military resistance did not prevail.

"On the morning of 26 March 1965, we carried out "Operation Tres Pasos" under my command, which meant taking the city of Tres Pasos, which would be the beginning of the seizure of barracks and the government of the state of Rio Grande do Sul. I had some 40 men and only 4 hunting rifles, 2 Colt 38's and my Colt 45. We assaulted the military detachment and seized the arms in addition to getting some 30 persons, including officers and men, to join us. We took the radio station and issued a proclamation written by me, which I signed as commander of the National Liberation Armed Forces (FALN). It was the first armed guerrilla movement against the dictatorial regime."

After that they carried out other military actions and the detachments of Tenente Portela and Oporan were taken. Colonel Cardim recalls then that "the other forces committed to the uprising and loyal to Goulart and Brizola lost their nerve and the general uprising did not occur." He related that they had no other alternative than to continue to carry out guerrilla actions with some 25 men whom he thought of leading to Mato Grosso; but he was unable to reach it because there was a fight with the troops of the Third Army in which they were defeated.

From there they escaped and dispersed. Cardim was arrested on 28 March 1965 when he was reported by the brother of a farmer who had given him food and lodging.

The colonel was tortured and then sentenced to 10 years in prison. He served 3 years of that sentence in the first phase, because he escaped from prison and took asylum in Mexico, from where he went to Algeria. In the course of a later trip to Montevideo with a stop in Buenos Aires, he was arrested by the Argentine authorities and turned over to the Brazilian Government. He then served the second phase of his sentence, 7 years, after which he devoted himself to fighting for general amnesty.

The Democratic Opening: A Farce

When the amnesty law went into effect, Cardim was reintegrated in the rank that he would have had if he had continued in his military career: major general retired, receiving the corresponding benefits and economic and social prerogatives. Nevertheless, his case was reconsidered and the Supreme Military Tribunal canceled his amnesty and began to consider him not as a politician but as a common criminal and terrorist. After that came the threats on his life and military persecution. That is when he decided to seek asylum in the Venezuelan Embassy in Brasilia.

"I will continue my struggle abroad, denouncing the violation of the amnesty law, the violation of human rights and demonstrating that the 'democratic opening' in Brazil is a farce.

"Suffice it to read the Rio and Sao Paulo newspapers," the colonel said, "to be aware of how the sinister 'Death Squadron' continues to operate with the same violence as before, coldly murdering alleged criminals." Referring to the participation of the left in Brazilian political life, within the so-called opening, he said:

"The military who are in key positions, especially the army generals, do not allow a party having a pinkish hue, with nationalistic or anti-imperialistic tendencies, or with a socialist base to be legalized. Much less the Brazilian Communist Party, which was the only one that continued to operate underground and now has a little freedom with the return to Brazil of some of its members and Central Committee leaders, such as Luis Carlos Prestes, but it cannot obtain legalization, nor has it been permitted to carry out any political propaganda or have headquarters in all of the national territory and it is proscribed as a party," he said.

He said also that the economic policy imposed by the International Monetary Fund has sown hunger among more than 30 million farmers. "We have to alert the people to the struggle," he said, indicating the course. "The vote is now our only weapon inasmuch as the firearms are in the service of reaction." He charged that Brazil's foreign debt exceeds \$60 billion and that inflation has increased more than 100 percent. "We have to eradicate imperialism from our country and mobilize all the people to achieve a constituent assembly that will elect a government of popular representation with all political parties, including the Brazilian Communist Party."

Colonel Jefferson Cardim de Alencar Osorio is now in Venezuela where he is thinking of settling permanently. His wife Rosa de Osorio, 52 years old, will come to join him soon. The guerrilla colonel, with straight gray hair, a penetrating look and youthful smile, will soon begin to write his memoirs about his arduous revolutionary life, which he is thinking of publishing in Caracas. His son, Roberto, will leave him here since he also has an important task: He is undertaking the legal defense of his father in Brazil.

Jefferson Cardim rises, checks the buttons of aquamarine double-breasted jacket and firmly shakes the reporter's hand.

8711

CSO: 3010

BRAZIL

FIGUEIREDO CONFIRMS DETERMINATION TO DEVELOP DEMOCRACY

Rio de Janeiro O GLOBO in Portuguese 26 Sep 80 p 3

[Text] Florianopolis--President Joao Figueiredo, speaking yesterday in Tubarao, Santa Catarina, said that his determination to establish a democracy in Brazil will not waver "however many bombs they may toss at the head of the government."

The president of the republic, criticizing those who doubt that he is in a position to keep his promises, reiterated that there will be direct elections in 1982, and he recalled that he has invariably responded to the unbelievers with facts.

Speaking to representatives of the state government, the municipal administration and Santa Catarina businessmen, President Joao Figueiredo said:

"They say I have made many promises, many claims, which I am not in a position to keep. But they said that about amnesty, about the political normalization of the country, about freedom of expression and freedom of the press. They said this about the multi-party system. And still they dare to say it now about direct elections. To all of these doubts, within the situational potential of the country, I have responded with facts. No one can accuse me of having avoided any of the promises I made as a candidate. Despite the attacks, sometimes unjust and even slanderous, I remain committed to those promises I made, to establish the democracy which is possible for Brazil in this country."

In conclusion he said:

"May heaven allow me to return to this state at the end of my term in office to say that I have kept those promises, so that Santa Catarina can in fact emerge from this interim period and play the role it deserves in the national context."

Detente

President Figueiredo landed in Tubarao at 1050 hours, and he was applauded along the route to the local plant by more than 2,000 persons. But it was at the modest municipal airport that the atmosphere of detente which would mark this visit to Santa Catarina was evident. A number of people gathered early to await the president, and immediately after landing, Figueiredo abandoned the route leading to the bus and mixed with the small crowd. For 15 minutes he shook hands and

embraced citizens, kissing women and children and entirely upsetting the plans of the security agents, who found themselves enveloped by the throng.

The president made himself available once again at lunch with the ELETROSUL [Southern Electric Power Plants] employees' association. He even left the table and went outside to acknowledge the loud applause of some hundreds of persons who had gathered outside the building.

Visit to Criciuma

At 1500 hours, the president arrived in Criciuma and proceeded immediately to the Sangao mine, where he pushed the button putting it into operation. As he was preparing to leave the platform, a reporter presented him with a Porto Alegre association jersey (the team for which Figueiredo roots), and asked him three questions, the first about the role of Santa Catarina with regard to the energy question.

"The Santa Catarina coal and the Rio Grande do Sul coal," he answered, "are so important that I have reserved a third of the resources of the energy mobilization program for coal. The alternatives in the Brazilian energy program do not lie in PROALCOOL [National Alcohol Program] alone. We will get there."

The next question concerned the conflict between Iraq and Iran.

"It has serious implications for us," he said. "But I do not believe it will last long. I think the conflict will come to an end soon. But in any case, it may have serious consequences for us, because we are importing 340,000 barrels a day from there. If the supply is interrupted, there will be serious consequences for the country."

In conclusion, a reporter asked when the president expects the first results of the investigation of the attacks.

"Well," the president responded, "I am not the police, am I? But do you know, I wish I were?"

5157

CSO: 3001

BRIZOLA PROPOSES OPPOSITION GROUP FORUM AS ALTERNATIVE

Sao Paulo FOLHA DE SAO PAULO in Portuguese 21 Sep 80 p 3

[Interview with Democratic Labor Party President Leonel Brizola by Orivaldo Perrin, date and place not given]

[Text] Rio de Janeiro--The power system in the country has reached a crossroads. The democratic alternative proposed by the Figueiredo government will either become concrete or it will collapse once and for all. The current economic model, if it is to be maintained, has to be bolstered by a rigid dictatorship. A social impasse has been reached: the nation wants an end, a response to terrorist acts, and the government is not acting. This crossroads could be found within the armed forces, where there is said to be a group of authoritarian officers who want to guide the nation.

This is what the president of the Democratic Labor Party (PDT), Leonel Brizola, thinks. Five days ago he obtained temporary registration of his party with the TSE [Supreme Electoral Court], and he is now embarking on a new stage in the career he has outlined for himself since his return to the country.

In this interview, the former governor of Rio Grande do Sul proposed the establishment of a forum of opposition groups to confront the government, with representatives of all the parties. "This may not yet be the solution," Brizola commented, "but it is a real alternative for bringing us to power. And the time has come: the government is indecisive and vague, and owes the people innumerable political, social and economic clarifications. We need to exorcise the demons contained among us and begin to act, for otherwise we will end up accustomed to this fox-in-the-chicken-house democracy."

First Step

The main passages of the interview follow.

[Question] As a slogan and a party, is the PDT just in its infancy?

[Answer] We have obtained our provisional registration with the TSE. This is the second party we laborites have formed in accordance with the requirements of the law. The first was under our old name. When we read reports of the possible disqualification of the PDT, we laugh among ourselves. The fact is we find it easier to organize the party now than it was earlier.

We find more people prepared to join with us, even in Sao Paulo. The dispossession from which we suffered awakened a reaction of solidarity within the Brazilian people. It was easy to see that the real party was neglected with the intent of benefiting a group the government could manipulate through the Machiavellianism of General Golbery. Today this problem has practically been dealt with. Many weep over our losses, but they were only on the level of cadres. Many electoralists, opportunists and the "physiologists" left. All of the short-sighted people.

The Right Wing

[Question] What type of short-sightedness do you mean?

[Answer] The right-wing team. Our losses were on the right-wing side. We had none on the left. And this is very significant, because it represents for us a purge, particularly in view of the nature of the new party we are building.

The new name expresses more faithfully our doctrine and the program we are presenting for Brazil today. The modern labor path is the Brazilian path to democratic socialism. The data available to us shows that the labor movement, as a popular trend in our country, as an intelligible formulation by the people, has not fallen into the trap laid by the government.

As a party, we do not represent an immediate alternative for power. In the medium time range we do. Our initial work is oriented toward the small municipal and state administrations and the legislatures.

While we are proceeding through this period of formation and affirmation within the national context, our logical path calls for joint action with the other parties and factions within the opposition. I believe that the new aspect in this country is in the opposition sector. The current regime, responsible as it is for these 16 years of omissions, errors, compromise and inhuman acts, has nothing more to offer the nation. It is spent. It has exhausted itself. It led the country to a situation of distortion and impasse, crisis and dependence, such as we had never before experienced. However much effort it may make, it no longer has public credibility. The little which remains for the present regime is the opportunity for concrete action, since it is in power. But in the realm of hope, nothing more is possible.

Moreover, this regime has been one of the aged and elderly. Its inspirers were members of a generation which preceded mine considerably. Some of the personages who founded the regime and have been influencing it up to the present were already active in Brazilian politics in the year when I was born, as is the case with Marshal Cordeiro de Farias and even former President Geisel. I once saw in a foreign country a photograph of General Geisel and some of his aides. At first glance I thought it was one of those photographs of Kremlin personalities. The alternative for the opposition must be like a still-unknown passage through some kind of gorge situated between two inaccessible and undesirable obstacles for the Brazilian people. On the one hand you have the perplexities, lack of definition and sleight-of-hand characteristic of the government, and on the other hand the authoritarian pockets with their concealed intentions of promoting a return to arbitrary action, as these terrorist attempts demonstrate.

The Open Political Approach

[Question] In your view, who would hinder the more open political approach?

[Answer] I have thought about this a great deal. Would it be the armed forces, which cultivates authoritarianism in its internal structures and has this unjust and unacceptable desire to control a nation of 120 million persons? First of all, it is natural for them to be concerned that the socioeconomic changes imposed should be carried out in orderly fashion. On this there is a consensus, a unanimous view: no one wants chaos or anarchy. Secondly, there is the problem of revanchism, the feeling of rancor and the desire for vengeance. I have traveled throughout this country and I can say with certainty that the Brazilian people are not interested in any type of revanchism. Our people want only a solution to their afflictions and for the country. Thirdly, there is a question of stability and pluralism. Now the people have been proving to be the greatest factor in stability. A study was made to determine this. The people abhor terrorism, attempted coups, and any kind of surprising action. The people cultivate hope and not despair. In fourth place I would put a question of great importance concerning the role of the concerns of the armed forces. It is a question of seeking a serious and realistic democratic alternative for the country. To pursue the commitments and accept the formulae and models of these last 13 years I think can only be done with more dictatorship, because it would have to be through an imposition against the will of the majority of the people. It seems I am taking up a taboo subject, that of the armed forces, but I think it will be beneficial for the building of democracy. We need to exorcise all kinds of demons. The alternative for power I imagine will have to be realistic on another point too: if it takes too leftist a direction, it cannot be assimilated by the Brazilian people as a whole. Brazil is neither Nicaragua nor Iran.

5157

CSO: 3001

NAVY MINISTER EXAMINES DOMESTIC, INTERNATIONAL ISSUES

Terrorism Assessed

Rio de Janeiro MANCHETE in Portuguese 27 Sep 80 pp 112-113

[Interview with Minister of Navy Eduardo da Silva Fonseca Maximiano by Haroldo Hollanda; date and place not given]

[Text] Admiral Maximiano Fonseca, minister of navy, gives assurance that nothing will deter President Joao Figueiredo in his determination to promote the perfecting of democracy, but he admits that the more open political approach makes the battle against inflation difficult. He condemns and is saddened by terrorist actions and recalls that these radical attitudes hinder and delay the process of achieving full democracy. Minister Maximiano da Fonseca sees no substantial difference between direct and indirect elections for the presidency of the republic, since either of the two can be democratic. He still prefers the indirect method, for he believes that it better defines and increases the responsibilities of those who make the final choice of a president of the republic.

[Question] Despite the present economic difficulties, is the more open approach an irreversible process?

[Answer] The history of nations demonstrates that political stability is closely linked with economic stability. It can even be said that one is always the consequence of the other. This being the case, we could presumably conclude that there would be a danger that inflation will contribute to a political retreat. However, the facts are there to prove that the commitment made by the president of the republic to establish a democratic system in the country has been fulfilled without reversal, despite the fact that difficulties in the battle against inflation have without a doubt been increased as a result of the problems generated by the more open political process. The public senses that the political opening has made the battle against inflation difficult. But nothing will divert the president from his promise, and he reiterated this with the greatest conviction and firmness in the two addresses he gave at the Planalto Palace and in Uberaba, respectively, immediately after the hateful terrorist acts perpetrated in Rio de Janeiro.

[Question] Is normalization of our political life one of the irrevocable promises of the revolution which President Joao Figueiredo is attempting to fulfill?

[Answer] I have not the slightest doubt or hesitation in answering this question in the affirmative. The fact that some sectors, either due to lack of understanding or radicalism, or because of spurious interests, raise a doubt about the honesty of the president's intentions and, as a result, proceed in such a way that they only contribute to slowing the speed of our steps in the firm direction of full democracy is regrettable, for obviously, we do not want and will not return to the situation prior to March 1964. This is the reason for the indispensable caution in the conduct of the process of democratic improvement we have undertaken, until our regime reaches the level desired by all true democrats. As I have already had occasion to say, some of the greatest enemies of democracy are among those who are urging immediate and full democracy most insistently.

[Question] Do you favor the holding of direct elections for the presidency of the republic? Or do you believe that in a country such as ours, a parliamentary system of government, with indirect elections, would be preferable?

[Answer] The most important thing is not whether the elections are direct or indirect, but rather that they be held democratically. For there are countries which have adopted direct elections, whereas they in reality are not democratic, while other truly democratic countries have indirect elections. The parliamentary system has already been tried in the country without good results, and I believe that such a system would not contribute to increasing our political stability. On the contrary, it might threaten it. There are some who deny that the election of the president of the United States, a country with a presidential system, is indirect in nature. However, yet once again its history has shown that the president elected is not the man winning the majority of the nominal votes of the people. Indirect elections, even under a presidential system, have in my opinion the great advantage that they not only provide a better definition, but also increase the responsibilities of those to whom it falls to make the final choice of a president.

Radicals Profit From Chaos

[Question] Do you believe that the recent terrorist attacks are designed to disturb the political life of the country?

[Answer] These incidents are extremely regrettable, and in reality it is the government which is most threatened by them, since public calm is a basic factor in its proper functioning. I believe that there are two possible sources for these incidents. Either they are in fact designed to disturb the political life of Brazil in order to hinder the functioning of the government, and in such a case they could be either leftist or rightist. Or they could be carried out by those who, even though not professing extremist doctrines, are dissatisfied with the lack of responsibility which regrettably is to be found--and this is true--mainly on the part of the so-called alternative press, which has been unable to make use of the full freedom currently enjoyed for noble purposes. It is indicative to note that these attacks are not oriented only toward the political press, but also that which without a doubt has been contributing to the moral decline of our traditions. As to the clearly terrorist attacks which have occurred recently, even causing loss of life, they are quite justly rejected and condemned vehemently by all good Brazilians. In my view, their origin lies in the

more radical sectors of an extremist movement which has never hesitated to use such means in any country to create chaos, which is its best vehicle for winning power.

[Question] Do you see or glimpse on the horizon any political events similar to those in 1968 which culminated in the promulgation of AI-5 (Institutional Act No 5)?

[Answer] The situation is entirely different. I would say in fact that it is in a way the opposite of that in 1968. In 1968 the government was concerned quite rightly with strengthening the regime established by the movement which was transformed into a revolution, the results of which could not be denied, either in the economic sector or in domestic order. The events then forced the government to undertake more energetic measures, due to the need to prevent the loss of what had already been achieved, or a lag in the process of future improvement. Currently, since domestic order is assured, the government is interested from the political point of view in strengthening the democratic system, which has always constituted one of the principal goals of the revolution. Tolerance of some phenomena which would not have been allowed in 1968 demonstrates what we have just asserted. Political problems of greater or lesser gravity are inherent in a democracy, and provided domestic order is assured, we will have nothing to fear. The guarantee of domestic order is provided by the perfect unity in the armed forces.

[Question] Is the Brazilian government, and the navy in particular, concerned with the defense of the South Atlantic? Has the Brazilian navy shown interest in signing a defense pact in this area of the world?

[Answer] As could not fail to be the case, the Brazilian government is concerned with the defense of the South Atlantic. In particular, as to the navy, this is its main concern, because such defense involves almost the whole of its mission. In fact, if we realize that almost all of our foreign trade passes through the South Atlantic, that the role of Brazilian products and services in the majority of the countries bordering this ocean is increasing steadily, that technological development has increasingly been allowing the exploitation of the ocean's resources, we can see how important the presence of our flag is throughout the South Atlantic, even in peacetime, is. First of all, it would be well to remember that there is already a mutual assistance treaty among the American nations, the Inter-American Reciprocal Assistance Treaty (TIAR). A defense pact limited to the South Atlantic would only make sense if one or some of the riparian nations possessed great naval power, which would enable it to support the others. However, none of the navies in this part of the world have the power necessary even for their own defense, and thus we do not believe the signing of such a treaty is justified. The important thing is that these navies understand each other very well in order to be able to function together if the circumstances should justify such a decision.

[Question] How do you view the recent rapprochement promoted in the relations between Brazil and Argentina?

[Answer] I regard it as one of the most significant foreign policy actions of Brazil under the present government. It is obvious that the more united the South

American countries are, the stronger the position of the continent within the context of international relations will be, mainly in view of the fact that these countries face very similar problems. The rapprochement between Brazil and Argentina will certainly encourage good understanding among the South American countries.

Brazilian Production of Warships

[Question] Have you any indications or news about the presence of Soviet vessels in the South Atlantic?

[Answer] The potential presence of Soviet warships off the eastern coast in the South Atlantic is a known fact. With the ever-growing increase in Soviet naval power, this presence is naturally tending to become ever more effective in all ocean areas, including the South Atlantic.

[Question] Has the level of efficiency of our naval forces in patrolling the coast improved?

[Answer] The level of the efficiency of our naval forces has without a doubt improved substantially where the quality and the training of the personnel are concerned, mainly since the new frigates, submarines, mine-sweepers and aircraft carriers went into service. Our great problem is quantity, since our fluctuating available assets are undeniably far below our real needs. It is important to note that the new frigates are not and should not be regularly used on patrol assignments, because these are vessels the operation of which is very costly. For regular patrol service we are using just 10 corvettes and we can use destroyers, which are now more than 25 years old.

[Question] How is Brazilian naval construction of warships developing?

[Answer] The great problem for our military naval construction industry is the lack of financial resources. Without a doubt, we are in a position to produce even submarines. It is our firm intention not to order any more new foreign vessels, unless an emergency situation develops, which is unlikely. We can indeed purchase foreign naval vessels second-hand, making it possible to alleviate our difficulties until the equipment presently available can be replaced with vessels built in Brazil. Currently, we are in the final stage of developing some projects in Brazil for vessels which will be built here as soon as financial conditions permit.

Persian Gulf Conflict

Rio de Janeiro O GLOBO in Portuguese 26 Sep 80 p 21

[Text] Naval Minister Maximiano da Fonseca stated yesterday that the war between Iran and Iraq is likely to be resolved soon.

He explained that with the great offensive power of modern weapons now, one country can overcome another and impose its will in a brief time.

He said that the neutrality of the two major powers--the Soviet Union and the United States--is a guarantee that the other countries will not have to face a broad war.

Concerning the possibility of some type of problem with the authorities in the two warring countries caused by a Brazilian oil tanker, the minister said the following:

"The Brazilian merchant ships passing through the area of conflict are meeting the requirements of the countries at war. It is hardly likely that a Brazilian vessel could cause an incident, but if some problem arose, it would fall to the navy and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to deal with the matter."

He said that the permission given Brazilian vessels to leave the Persian Gulf showed a reasonable and friendly attitude on the part of Iran.

5157

CSO: 3001

BRAZIL

ALTERNATIVE SOURCES OF ENERGY UNDER STUDY

Sao Paulo FOLHA DE SAO PAULO in Portuguese 20 Sep 80 p 13

[Article by Theresa Martins: "The Search for Fuels--Scientists Research Biomass Derivatives for Use as Oil Substitutes"]

[Text] The difficulties which oil imports have caused the Brazilian economy have led scientists and researchers to work on and develop projects in the energy sector with a view to the gradual replacement of oil with other fuels.

"One of the ways of reaching this goal is increasing the contribution of renewable sources of the biomass type (wood, sugarcane bagasse, charcoal), especially wood, encouraging the replacement of oil products with biomass derivatives."

This statement was made by Prof Saul Goncalves d'Avila of the chemical engineering department at the faculty of engineering, University of Campinas (UNICAMP), who has been pursuing research in the energy sector since 1978, along with Profs Jose Claudio Moura and Zeolt Makray.

Initially, the purpose of this research involved the use of agricultural residues for energy production, but it was then found that the equipment used also lent itself to the processing of wood or forest residues.

"Studies of pyrolysis (decomposition by heat) were made on a laboratory scale and a pilot facility linking a gasification apparatus with a motor-generator complex for the production of electricity was built," Professor d'Avila explained.

"The results showed," he added, "that the gas obtained from cellulosic materials readily lends itself to use as fuel for internal combustion engines." The gasification apparatus developed is of the descending flow type, making it possible to produce a gas which is practically free of tar, the UNICAMP professor and researcher said. This gas, in order to be used in engines, needs only an operation involving heat filtering and condensation of the water which forms.

"The results of gas-burning tests in furnaces showed that the gas is suitable for replacing fuel oil in its multiple uses, such as for example in boilers, kilns, etc." Professor d'Avila also said that "it seems that the only limitation on generalized use lies in the flame, which does not reach temperatures above 1,200°."

He explained moreover that the tests are not conclusive, because the furnace design is an important factor here.

Decentralization

Professor d'Avila, who is also coordinator of the CODETEC [Technological Development Company]-FINEP [Funding Authority for Studies and Projects]-UNICAMP bioconversion project (the Technological Development Company has been devoting itself since 1978 to research and development work in the field of gasification of cellulosic materials, also notes that the energy consumed today in the form of fuel oil "is equivalent to the energy supplied by only 2,000 gasification units of 10 million kilocalories per hour."

The units developed thus far are in the 500,000-kilocalorie-per-hour range, but the CODETEC goal is to produce units with a capacity of up to 10 million kilocalories per hour, Professor d'Avila explained.

In his view, the development in the country of a technology such as that for the gasification of wood, which is "simple and low in cost," will provide social and economic benefits. "Another effect to be considered is the decentralization of the production of natural fuels, which will have positive repercussions in the interior by creating new jobs, both in reforestation and at the wood gasification and processing units."

Prof Saul Goncalves d'Avila emphasized "the encouragement which the effective adoption of a national solution and technology for the energy problem would have on technical and scientific circles in the country," and he said that the reforestation of 0.6 percent of the country's area could produce energy equivalent to the planned fuel oil consumption for this year.

"Based on a functional energy equivalent of 3.3 tons of wood per ton of fuel oil, and presuming productivity in reforestation of 12 tons of wood per hectare per year, it will be possible to provide a substitute for all of the fuel oil to be consumed in the country in 1980 through the exploitation of 46,000 square kilometers of planted forest, representing only 0.6 percent of the area of the country."

He believes that, despite the increase in energy consumption, "wood is an abundant and renewable natural energy source for Brazil."

According to Prof Saul Goncalves d'Avila, "the overall energy efficiency of wood gasification processes depends above all on the performance of the gasification unit, which represents the key apparatus for the whole system."

He explained that the first gasification or gas-producing units date back to the first half of the 19th century and utilized coal. "They were all of the upward-draft (countercurrent) type, with movable beds supported by a grid through which air and steam were blown."

This same type of design has been used for gasogenic units for the processing of wood and cellulosic residues, but according to Professor d'Avila, this was "a

mistake," because the gases produced by the materials used have a "high water and tar content, thus requiring additional purification installations."

Professor d'Avila said that "the presence of tars in the gas can be avoided by passing the products of pyrolysis through an incandescent charcoal sector in the gasification unit. In this way the tars are thermally cracked, producing a clean gas," he concluded.

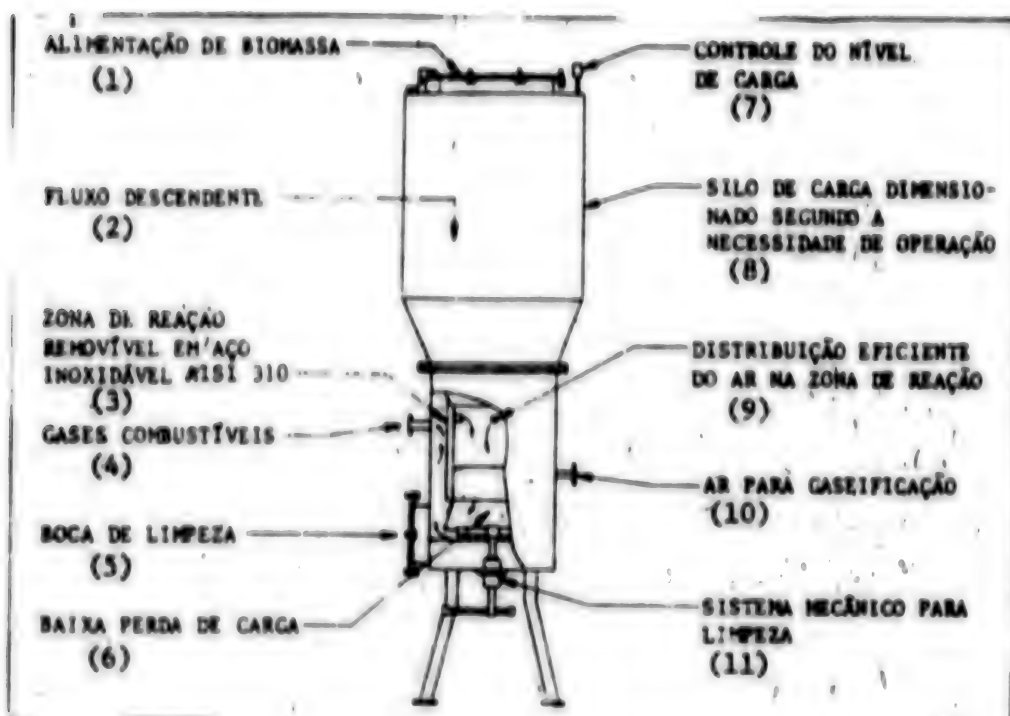
The gasification apparatus using this technique are called downdraft or cocurrent gasification units. This type also uses air as a gasification agent, and the energy needed for the process is supplied by combustion reactions which occur in the descending bed.

Research

The gasification of wood in gas-producing units (cocurrent type) was a process used, mainly in Germany, during World War II. After the war, the development of gasification units was almost forgotten, only becoming the focus of attention again in recent years because of the high price and the prospect of the scarcity of oil, Professor d'Avila explained.

He also explained that despite the fact that the programs for the gasification of biomass (wood, among other materials) are still small and have not gone beyond the pilot plant stage, they have one characteristic in common. "They are oriented toward the building of large-scale gasification units capable of meeting the energy demand in modern installations, and certainly much larger than those before World War II."

Professor d'Avila further said that "with the high content of volatile products, the low ash content and the additional advantage of containing no sulfur, wood is the ideal raw material for gasification. Depending on the gasification process," he added, "gaseous fuel can be used as a source of industrial heat, fuel for engines and turbines, a reduction gas for metallurgy or a synthesis gas for ammonia, methanol and other hydrocarbons."



The solid material fed into the gasification unit passes through successive stages: drying, pyrolysis, in which the volatile material is distilled, and finally, high-temperature reaction, during which the combustible gases are formed, mainly carbon monoxide, hydrogen and methane.

Key:

- | | |
|---|---|
| 1. Biomass feed | 7. Load level control |
| 2. Descending flow | 8. Load hopper with volume consistent with functional needs |
| 3. Removable reaction section of AISI 310 stainless steel | 9. Efficient distribution of air in reaction section |
| 4. Combustible gases | 10. Air for gasification |
| 5. Access for cleaning | 11. Mechanical cleaning system |
| 6. Lower load valve | |

5157

CSO: 3001

ALCOHOL IS FUEL FOR ONE-FOURTH OF CARS BUILT THIS YEAR

Sao Paulo VEJA in Portuguese 17 Sep 80 pp 76-84

[Cover story: "The Alcohol Explosion"]

[Text] Seven years after the cataclysm caused by the unbridled rise of oil prices and the disorder that reigned in the economy of the whole world, we can already say: Alcohol hit it right in Brazil. Perhaps that fact is not yet apparent. Perhaps there may be problems and big problems ahead. Perhaps the Brazilians, only a minority of whom have already entered the alcohol cycle, have not perceived the change. But alcohol has definitely taken the course of things that have come to stay--and as of now, the future cannot be conceived without it.

After a shaky start in 1975, the national alcohol program took off and this year alone the automobile plants will sell 250,000 alcohol-fueled vehicles, almost one-quarter of their total production. It is known that the program is not a panacea capable of solving the energy problems of the country, which must still import oil for a long time. But while it may not stanch the drain in the balance of payments, though lessening it, alcohol is transforming Brazil into the first modern society that concretely has begun to eliminate the prophecy of the end of the automobile civilization, giving the automobile industry a certificate of long life. A sign of that tendency is the drop in the consumption of gasoline. From January to August of this year, consumption decreased 10.7 percent compared to the same period last year.

"The alcohol-fueled car is the real Brazilian miracle," proclaimed a man who cannot err in that type of thing: Wolfgang Sauer, president of Volkswagen do Brasil, the largest automobile manufacturer in the country, who expects to sell 120,000 alcohol-fueled cars this year. Enthusiastically, Sauer predicts that next year no less than 80 percent of the company's automobile production--estimated at 550,000 units--will be of alcohol-fueled cars, a complete reversal of Volkswagen's production profile. The gasoline cars--the other 20 percent--will be almost optional. His optimism has a clearly simple explanation: This year Volkswagen does not know if it can take care of the long queues of consumers that line up at its authorized dealerships wanting an alcohol-fueled car. Sauer advises, however, that the gasoline-fueled car cannot be considered an anachronism. After all, the national fleet numbers 7 million vehicles and the alcohol-fueled vehicles have not even reached 10 percent of that number. Thus, the replacement will be a goal to achieve in the long term.

Even so, this excited demand is not justified only by the incentives given the owners of alcohol-fueled cars--the price of 18.20 cruzeiros per liter compared to

38 for gasoline, the single road tax (TRU) 50 percent lower, more generous financing terms, and fuel supply available on Saturdays. In a country accustomed to mistrusting its own solutions for difficult problems, it would be impossible to induce so many consumers to take a gamble they did not like to take, just as it was impossible to convince them to eat soybean instead of beans. But soybean is soybean and alcohol is alcohol. The sales performance clearly indicates that there is no suspicion hovering over the alcohol-fueled car. Of course, there are still problems with the alcohol motors but none of them are insurmountable. "We are in the first generation of alcohol-fueled motors," said Wolfgang Sauer of Volkswagen. "The second generation is already in the testing phase and will be better," he asserted.

Alcohol Not at Fault--The backing of the consumers forced the factories to develop improvements in the automobiles and solidified the option for alcohol as irreversible. Proalcool, the government program that coordinates the whole spectacular mass of financing for the production of alcohol is definitive. When it still ran the risk of infant mortality, it already had the support of the industrialists. By July of this year, the National Executive Commission for Alcohol, responsible for the program, had already approved 292 projects involving investments of 45 billion cruzeiros and a production of 6.8 billion liters of alcohol per year. That figure is still below the 10.7 billion liters set by the government as the goal for 1985 but Minister of Industry and Commerce Joao Camilo Penna, responsible for the implementation of the program, guarantees that there will be no lack of alcohol. "How can we doubt a program of such dimensions?" he asks. Proalcool also has in its favor the fact that it has not installed itself in its own building, does not have a bureaucracy, and is not planning to set up a branch headquarters in Rio de Janeiro, as would be normal to expect from one more federal agency.

But since mistrust in the face of a new experiment was natural, even though no especially sophisticated technology was at stake, the government offered itself as a guinea pig for the first tests of the regular use of alcohol-fueled cars. Since July 1979, President Joao Figueiredo himself has been moving about in an alcohol-fueled Ford Landau. At each inspection, however, the car revealed corrosion problems. Until on 19 November, Flag Day, what many had expected to happen at any time did happen. After presiding over the commemorations at Planalto Palace, Figueiredo went to his car. After a few tries, the car would not start.

For 2 weeks, mechanics of the transportation service of the presidency of the republic, Ford technicians and even a specialist from the Aerospace Technical Center (CTA) inspected the adaptation made in the motor to run on alcohol. They could not find anything wrong. Until by chance one Sunday, the duty sergeant in the Planalto service station decided to examine the ignition system of the Landau. He pressed the starter several times but the car would not start. Inspecting the electrical system, he discovered that a transistor through which the electric current flowed was intermittent. That was the trouble. The alcohol was not at fault.

From that time on, the Number 1 car in the country had no further problems, as the president's chauffeur, Miguel Soares, states. "On the contrary," he avers, "since alcohol gives the car more power, the security personnel many times complain that I am going too fast." After driving Juscelino Kubitschek's Cadillac, the Mercedes-Benz of Joao Goulart and Castello Branco and the Galaxie of Costa e Silva, all gasoline-fueled, Soares does not hesitate to say that he does not feel any big differences between them and the alcohol-fueled Landau, "the most comfortable of all."

Today in Planalto the following ministers are driving around in alcohol-fueled cars: Golbery do Couto e Silva of the Civilian Household, Octavio Medeiros of the National Intelligence Service (SNI), Danilo Venturini of the Military Household, Celfim Netto of Planning, Helio Beltrao of Debureaucratization, Said Farhat of the Mass Media, and the secretary of the presidency, Heitor Ferreira. Of all of them, Ferreira is what could be called a pioneer in this field. He has been driving an alcohol-fueled Volkswagen for some time and even today he drives the official black Opala himself. "Many people would like my alcohol-fueled car to explode," he admits. "But it runs very well." Golbery, who has not had a steering wheel in his hands for 15 years has also never heard any complaints from his chauffeur.

Without Complaints--Now with the initial difficulties having been overcome, Planalto has made an accounting of its consumption--from June 1979 to 10 September of this year, the transportation service used 415,000 liters of alcohol--and already sees the doubts disappear even among the opposition. Three months ago, Federal Deputy Marcelo Medeiros (Popular Party for Rio de Janeiro) bought an alcohol-fueled car. Convinced by him, his wife Heloisa 1 month ago exchanged a gasoline-fueled Caravan for an alcohol-fueled Opala Comodoro. "I made a good deal," she declared. Normally Heloisa uses one tank of gasoline (55 liters in this case) per week. With the Caravan, today she would have been spending 2,090 cruzeiros per week. With the alcohol-fueled car, she spends 990 cruzeiros. Thus, she saves 1,100 cruzeiros per week or 4,400 per month.

Without any complaints to make, Heloisa today is among the exponents of an alcohol-fueled car--"I have already convinced my gymnastics teacher"--joining the ever-growing number of those who believe that the benefits exceed the problems. She complains about the difficulty of traveling with the car because of the shortage of alcohol stations--a real problem but one that is on the way to a solution because alcohol stations are being established at a rate that few expected (there are fewer than 1,800 at the present time and states such as Rio Grande do Sul, for example, do not have any). In addition, Brazil is beginning to accumulate experience in the operation of alcohol-fueled motors. A pioneer in the use of alcohol-fueled cars, Telecommunications of Sao Paulo (TELESP) is already in a position to make an assessment.

Pressured by stricter and stricter orders to reduce fuel consumption, reserve Colonel Olavo Grunau, chief of the company's transportation department, comprised mostly of Volkswagens, did not see any alternative but alcohol. On 2 August 1977 the first 25 alcohol-fueled cars were operating. Today TELESP has 1,053 alcohol-fueled cars--most of them adapted--that get an average of 4.12 kilometers to a liter of alcohol. The performance is poor, much inferior to that of factory-built alcohol-fueled cars, and inferior also to the company's 994 gasoline-fueled cars, which get on the average 5.15 kilometers per liter. However, discounting the difference in the price of alcohol compared to gasoline, it is quite positive: a study conducted last June shows that since 1977, TELESP saved 20 million cruzeiros. The initial problems of TELESP's cars--at slow speeds, they "went dead" and the motor parts that had direct contact with alcohol suffered excessive corrosion--have already been solved. Corrosion, incidentally, stopped being a problem when the factories began to protect the fuel lines with chrome or copper.

Solution in Sight: Fuel consumption--from 15 to 20 percent more than with gasoline--is the central problem and has been the main worry of the factories. Three years

ago, Volkswagen, which has already invested 492 million cruzeiros in the development of alcohol-fueled cars in its Brazilian factory, brought one of the most famous motor specialists in the world to Sao Paulo: the German, Herbert Heitland, 54 years old, an independent consultant, presently the company's research manager.

With the typical image of the stubborn scientist, Heitland is working on various alternatives, unconcerned for the time being about cost problems. He guarantees, however, that some day there will be an alcohol-fueled car capable of getting 20 kilometers to 1 liter--a rate so far reached only by the German Golf which runs on diesel fuel and is reputed to be one of the most economical automobiles in the world. There is already a solution in sight for the problem of starting the motor, which is still slow. "We have already tested a prototype and the motor was started at a temperature of 10 degrees below zero," Heitland said.

The tendency toward improvement is a constant factor. "The automobile industry worked 80 years on gasoline. It is not logical to expect to get the same results from 6 or 7 years' experience with alcohol-fueled cars," argued Andre Beer, executive director of General Motors of Brazil, himself a user of an alcohol-fueled Opala. He predicts that this year 40 percent of GM's production will consist of alcohol-fueled cars. Fiat, the first factory to produce alcohol-fueled cars on the assembly line, also promises to change its production structure. "In a little while, half of our production will be of alcohol-fueled cars," Miguel Goncalves, the president of Fiat, predicted. The fact is that none of the big automobile factories in Brazil have stayed out of the alcohol area, and all of their strategy is to concentrate more and more in that sector.

The Runaround--Because it was the first, Fiat at first was bogged down in the labyrinths of the bureaucracy. Trying to obtain certification for the first exclusively alcohol-fueled car in 1978, Fiat was the victim of a runaround. In the Ministry of Industry and Commerce (the minister at the time was Angelo Calmon de Sa) sometimes they said that the certification should be given by the CTA, other times, by the National Oil Council (NP), or, who knows, by the Brazilian Petroleum Corporation (PETROBRAS). To solve the impasse, the company threatened to grant its own certification. Under pressure, the ministry reluctantly agreed to give its approval, but even so not until July 1979.

Conflicts of that kind were settled exactly 1 year ago. At that time, the Ministry of Industry and Commerce and the automobile industry signed their famous "protocol" establishing targets for the production of alcohol-fueled cars for each year, compatible with the expected production of alcohol. Under that document, the industry commits itself to produce 250,000 vehicles this year, 300,000 next year and 350,000 in 1982. The president of the National Automotive Vehicle Manufacturers Association (ANFAVEA), Mario Garnero, who had declared that the target would not be reached this year and production would not exceed 209,000 reconsidered his prediction. Today, more confident, Garnero guarantees that the industry will meet its commitment. As a matter of fact, Volkswagen, Fiat, General Motors and Ford predict that they will exceed their estimates as a result of buyer pressure.

The concern of everyone now converges on one point: Will Brazil have sufficient alcohol for the 900,000 cars that will be produced between 1980 and 1982, and after that? Between 1975 and 1980, alcohol production encouraged by government financing increased an impressive 659 percent. That expansion will not be so radical

in the coming years. "Production capacity reached its fullness in the past harvest. New increases now can be achieved only at the cost of new investments," explained Jose Luis Zillo, 39 years old, successor to the controversial Jorge Wolney Atalla as president of Copersucar, responsible for 50 percent of the country's alcohol production, estimated at 4 billion liters.

Changed Landscape--Far from the daily problems that concern businessmen in that sector, banker Castao Eduardo de Bueno Vidigal, principal stockholder in the Mercantile Bank of Sao Paulo, puts all his chips on an inescapable progress of the program. And not exactly because alcohol is going to reduce the foreign debt or resolve the problems of the automobile industry. His interest is and has always been money; he always knew where it was and how it is reproduced. "Have you ever imagined how much the Gross Industrial Product is going to grow as a result of the increase of cane production?" Vidigal asks. "What is going to happen in this country is a phenomenon of development similar to what occurred when the automobile industry was established in 1961."

He recalls that that industry was also regarded with discredit. He himself, as secretary of finance for Sao Paulo in 1961 was surprised when he discovered in tax accounts that a single automobile factory paid more taxes on sales and consignments than all the coffee exports. "Nobody can hold Proalcool," asserted the banker, who also predicts a concentrated growth in Sao Paulo, which today is responsible for no less than 80 percent of the alcohol produced in Brazil.

As a matter of fact, Vidigal's prediction makes sense. The landscape in the countryside has been changing since Proalcool was established. Today sugarcane intended for alcohol already occupies a planted area of 2.5 million hectares, greater than the area of the state of Sergipe. In 1985, to attain the production target of 10.7 billion liters, it will be necessary to mill 100 million hectares. According to a Copersucar study, that will create more than 350,000 direct jobs and it is estimated that in the producing areas, per capita income will be \$2,000. In addition, by law the companies that produce alcohol must allocate 2 percent of the price for the benefit of its workers. That type of social fund will have accumulated 4 billion cruzeiros at today's prices by 1985. The extraordinarily favorable panorama does not hide gray areas. The businessmen in the sector complain, for example, about the low return they receive today. The price of a liter of alcohol to the consumer is 18.20 cruzeiros today but the producer receives only 14.93. "The margin is laughable," complains Zillo of Copersucar. According to him, the fair price the producer should receive is 22 cruzeiros. "Today we are dependent on the favors of the government because we do not have a price," laments Orlando Crisim Ometto, 58 years old, the largest individual producer of sugar and alcohol in the world, in the center of his empire established in the interior of Sao Paulo.

Ometto, a native of Sao Paulo from the city of Piracicaba, a classic sugarcane city, has fond recollections about the period when his family of Italian immigrants erected a good part of the vast empire he commands with the wealth it accumulated in a period of almost 100 years in Brazil. Today his four plants, the largest one located in Barra Bonita, produce 6 percent of all the alcohol manufactured in Brazil. In the next few years, the group is going to spend 21 billion cruzeiros--\$371 million--on new projects. Associated with Votorantim, Atlantica-Boavista Insurance and the Dedini machinery industry (he with 34 percent and the other three groups with 22 percent each), Ometto is going to install the largest alcohol distillery in the world in Mato Grosso do Sul, in the Bodoquena Plantation. In 1985,

Bodequena will be producing 224 million liters of alcohol per year. But that feat will be surpassed in 1988 by Ometto himself when project Jaiha in northern Minas Gerais goes into operation, the production of which will reach 487 million liters per year. At that stage, Ometto will be producing almost 10 percent of the alcohol manufactured in Brazil. It is just as if Brazil were planting Kuwait, of which Ometto will be the principal "alcohol sheikh."

"If I did not believe in Proalcool, no way would I run that risk investing so much money. And afterwards what excuse would I give my grandchildren and great grandchildren?" he asks. Although there are drawbacks in the course of the program, Ometto is certainly not throwing money out the window or creating any problem for his descendants. Businessmen like himself who committed their assets to alcohol dispel the predictions of the gloomy scenario produced in academic circles where nobody risks money on wrong guesses. At this stage, for example, it is hairsplitting to discuss if the planted area necessary for alcohol is going to rob lands usable for food production or is going to chase small farmers into the city.

Alcohol is blazing other agriculture frontiers. Ometto, for example, is successfully planting beans along with sugarcane, demonstrating that one crop can complement another, thus taking care of two needs: energy and food. Also, the warning that the first explosion of the price of sugar in the world market would topple production of alcohol is nothing more than intellectual anguish. The prices of sugar in the market today are the highest since 1975 and that has not caused the production of alcohol to be reduced a single liter. The specter of "vinhoto," a pollutive residue resulting from the preparation of alcohol, has also evaporated. Today, the "vinhoto" is completely utilized as a fertilizer and its use as fodder is being studied.

It would certainly be more useful if those interested in the energy problem would devote their efforts to more concrete questions. Difficulties that have not yet been overcome still persist, such as the substitution of diesel oil, which is responsible for the burning of 32 percent of the oil refined in Brazil--more than gasoline, which accounts for 25 percent of the imported oil. Firm supporters such as Ometto or Gastao Vidigal guarantee the irreversibility of the alcohol alternative. One could add to them the government of Kuwait, the third largest OPEC producer, which in June purchased 10 percent of the shares of Volkswagen do Brasil, which were held by the Monteiro Aranha group. According to Rui Patricio, former Portuguese foreign minister, Proalcool "was an important factor in the transaction." At the same time, the pressure of consumers for alcohol-fueled cars and the readiness of industry to build them in increasing numbers consolidates the chosen course. Oil is expensive, difficult to find and some day it will end. Alcohol, if one plants the raw material, will yield.

A Really Good Deal

During the debut last July of his alcohol-fueled Fiat, banker Agenor Vitor Lazzari, 46 years old, a management aide for the Bank of the State of Sao Paulo, was on the point of exploding with indignation. He had gone a few blocks when, in irritation he asked himself if he had not made a bad deal. "It was a real disaster," he said. "The car kept missing."

Lazzari thought of canceling the deal but he ended up by learning a lesson for all owners of alcohol-fueled Fiates out of that episode: "Let the car warm up for 3 minutes." The car's good performance now makes him smile--the indignation was left

in those first few meters. On the roads that run along the Pinheiros and Tiete rivers, which he takes going home from work, the Fiat hits 100 and 110 kilometers per hour, "just touching the accelerator." Agamenor Lazzari drives an average of 34 kilometers a day, alcohol consumption is 6.3 kilometers per liter, and he spends 3,000 cruzeiros per month on fuel.

It is exactly 50 percent less than other consumers spend driving an almost equal number of kilometers per month with a Fiat identical to Lazzari's, except gasoline-fueled. It is true that the gasoline-fueled Fiat has a lower fuel consumption--about 11 kilometers per liter. But the prices of fuel are so high that that difference is largely compensated for. "I looked for an alcohol-fueled car because of my distress over seeing gasoline more and more expensive and scarce," Lazzari explained. He swore that he is not exaggerating when he says that his Fiat goes up Sao Quiliter Avenue, one of the steepest in Sao Paulo, in fourth gear.

The daily life of the owner of an alcohol-fueled car, like Lazzari, is not different from that of drivers of traditional cars other than the fact that they spend less. For them, there is simply no worry about being without gasoline on weekends, or not being able to make longer trips--the alcohol stations operate normally on Saturdays, Sundays and holidays and their constantly growing network already covers long road routes across the country. There is still the specter of maintenance and service station expenses. But, as the alcohol enthusiasts ask, who knows of any gasoline-fueled car of any make or year that one can swear never vent into a service station.

Supply Guaranteed From North to South

One of the questions that interests potential buyers of alcohol-fueled cars the most is knowing how far they can go without the risk of getting stuck on the road because of a lack of fuel. The answer is promising: There are 1,781 stations in Brazil today that have alcohol pumps, spread from Florianopolis in Santa Catarina to Fortaleza in Ceara. More than 800 of them are in Sao Paulo where the travel options for that very reason are countless. On the Anhanguera highway, for example, one can go from Campinas, Limeira, Araras and Riberirao Preto to the border of the state of Minas Gerais where there are 180 stations available. According to Renato Iuttl, an Anfevea aide, on that route there are stations with alcohol pumps every 30 kilometers. The Sao Paulo coast is also well served. There are stations in Santos, Sao Vicente, Guarujá and all of Praia Grande up to Itanhem.

A trip from Sao Paulo to Rio de Janeiro is made without any problem. By Dutra Highway, there are stations in Sao Jose dos Campos, Tachate, Guaratingueta, Lorena, Saesde, Volta Redonda, Nova Iguaçu and Duque de Caxias and there you are: The next city is Rio, where almost all the stations have alcohol pumps. The coastal route is similarly easy to follow: There are stations in Ilha Bela, Sao Sebastiao, Ubatuba, Caraguatatuba, Parati and Angra dos Reis. A Ford LTD can go from Salvador to Joao Pessoa with only two stops since the distance between those cities is 938 kilometers.

There are countless routes for trips by alcohol-fueled cars: It is possible today to go from Brasilia to Florianopolis and from there to Fortaleza without using gasoline as the map shows. Even if the intention of the Ministry of Industry and Commerce to reach the target of 7,000 stations in Brazil by the end of the year is not met, it will not be the lack of guarantee of a fuel supply that will keep one from buying an alcohol-fueled car.

BRAZIL

AGRICULTURE MINISTER: SEED SHORTAGE WILL NOT AFFECT CROP

Sao Paulo O ESTADO DE SAO PAULO in Portuguese 24 Sep 80 p 25

[Text] (Bureau correspondents)--Amaury Stabile, minister of agriculture, said yesterday in Londrina that, despite the shortage of seed grain in some regions, next year's grain crop should reach about 60 million tons, as against 51.5 million tons this year. In Maracaju (Mato Grosso do Sul), the minister announced that another 5 billion cruzeiros will be allocated to expand the area planted for the 1980/1981 crop. The sum will be added to the 5 billion cruzeiros allocated last July for the same purpose. It is estimated that, using these funds, about 400,000 hectares will be added to the area under cultivation for the 1980/1981 crop.

In Londrina, Stabile said: "We are already sure of 56 million tons, but we are not counting on the harvest in the north and northeast. This crop will be greater because of the 5-percent increase in the area under cultivation, which went from 26 to 28 million hectares this year."

Regarding the seed shortage, the minister reported that 70,000 sacks of beans are needed in Parana alone. "Actually, the reason we have no seed, particularly beans, is that with the current market prices the producers are selling seed as grain. We are looking for seed and we have found a little in Bahia and Minas Gerais. If we don't get seed, however, we will use higher-grade grain for planting."

Stabile is traveling with a "production caravan," formed by Agriculture Ministry technicians who are going around the country to meet with producers. In Maracaju, the minister heard violent criticism of Delfim Netto, minister of planning. In the opinion of Rubens Ilgenfritz, president of the COTRIJUI [local wheat growers' cooperative], Netto is still a stranger to the concerns of the nation's farmers.

Today in Brasilia, the agriculture minister is meeting with representatives of 41 Rio Grande do Sul wheat cooperatives, to take an accounting of the losses in the state and to study the current situation.

6362

CSO: 001

FROST DAMAGES SOUTHERN WHEAT CROP

Rio de Janeiro O GLOBO in Portuguese 20 Sep 80 p 23

[Text] Londrina (O GLOBO)--Parana has lost 150,000 tons of wheat, a financial loss of about 110 million cruzeiros, and will have to replant 70,000 hectares of beans ["feijao das aguas"] as a result of the recent frosts in the state. The estimate was given in Maringa last Thursday by Eugenio Estefanelo, director general of the Parana Secretariat of Agriculture. He also predicted higher prices for vegetables and fruits in the days to come, owing to total losses in the green belts around Curitiba. His predictions were based on the surveys of the secretariat's Department of Rural Economy, which had been studying the situation since the beginning of the week, when the temperature began to drop in Parana. According to the surveys, wheat was damaged mainly in the western and southern regions, where 260,000 hectares are planted in wheat and half of it is in the spike-forming stage. Hence, average yields, estimated by the technicians at 1,130 kg per alqueire, will probably decline by 12 percent.

The bean crop suffered the worst damage, however, mainly in the southern and southwestern regions. Some 830,000 hectares in the state are planted in beans, and half of them had already been seeded. In the western and central western regions, 70,000 of the 90,000 alqueires will have to be replanted. According to Estefanelo, the planting period can be extended to October, which means the bean crop could be salvaged, but producers throughout the state are complaining about the generalized shortage of seeds, and are thinking of planting corn or cotton instead of beans, according to technicians of the Agriculture Secretariat's regional office in Cascavel.

The secretariat's director general admitted during his visit to Maringa that next year's coffee crop in Parana, estimated at 7 million sacks of processed beans, will not reach that figure, although it is still too early to evaluate the loss.

Rio Grande do Sul

Porto Alegre (O GLOBO)--The Rio Grande wheat crop should be significantly smaller this year because of the frosts that occurred last Tuesday and Wednesday in the interior, with temperatures close to 0 degrees centigrade. Only 1.2 million hectares were planted this year, fewer than last year. Under normal weather conditions, the yield is 1,200 kg per hectare, but, with the frosts, the estimate has been reduced to between 600 and 900 kg per hectare.

The regional office of the CFP (Commission on Financing and Production) sent a telex to the CFP superintendency in Brasilia yesterday, reporting that within 8 to 10 days it will take a survey of the frost damage to the Rio Grande crop. Ary Hersog, regional officer of the CFP, added that "the most significant losses will be in wheat and fruit."

Viticulture will be minimally affected, as will corn and beans, which had just been planted.

COTRIROSA

Pedro Lugoz, director-superintendent of COTRIDORA (Santa Rosa Wheat Growers Cooperative) reported that losses to the wheat crop in the region should be about 25 percent. Some 40,000 hectares of wheat were planted in the cooperative region, with an estimated yield of about 1,200 kg per hectare. With the frosts, the estimate has dropped to 900 kg per hectare.

Lugoz said: "The corn was affected, but it can recover. Beans and fruit were badly damaged by the frosts. It is still too soon to estimate the crop losses, because you cannot be certain of the yield until the crop is actually harvested."

Luiz Fernando, technical director of the Carazinho wheat growers cooperative, adds that "the crop loss from the frosts should be about 50 percent, at least.

"The wheat is in the stage of spike formation and some crops are in the flowering stage. Yields of 1,200 kg per hectare were estimated initially, but the figure should be about 600. Some 20,000 hectares were planted in wheat. The bean crop here was a total loss, but the wheat was only recently planted."

6162

CSO: 3001

BRAZIL

DEVELOPMENT PROGRAM FOR CENTRAL WEST DISCUSSED

Sao Paulo O ESTADO DE SAO PAULO in Portuguese 18 Sep 80 p 34

[Text] Finance Minister Ernane Galveas predicted yesterday that within 3 years the Central West could be producing from 3 to 5 million tons of grain for export, bringing in about \$2 billion more in exchange reserves for the country, if the programs in progress in the region are not interrupted.

He assured that the federal government will continue to give full financial support to the region, within the limitations of the budget, and admitted the possibility that the National Monetary Council (CND) could approve further funding for investments to put new areas into production, if the credit of 5 billion cruzeiros recently authorized by the CND is used up.

Lecturing at the seminar "Central West: New Frontier," in Brasilia, Galveas promised that "once the most critical phase of the inflation is overcome, the federal government is going to channel more generous investment credit to that area of the country, mainly because the region is in the best position to absorb the manpower freed by the modernization of agriculture in the South and Southwest and to handle the migratory flow from the Northeast." This settlement plan is seen to be entirely "viable," according to the finance minister, because the region (formed by Mato Grosso, Mato Grosso do Sul and Goias, the Federal District and the territory of Rondonia) takes in 23.1 percent of the total area of the country and has only 6.3 percent of the total population.

He also stressed the agricultural potential of the region, reporting that production in the Central West increased from 5.6 million tons in 1978 to 7.6 million tons in 1979, a growth of 35 percent in a single year, whereas nationwide production increased by only 7 percent. In addition to the extent of the territory, the minister noted the region's fertile soil, favorable for an enormous range of products, notably natural rubber, cacao, coffee, black pepper, cotton, rice, cassava, corn, beans, soybeans and wheat.

Galveas disappointed businessmen and officials in the region, however, in indicating his firm opposition to the creation of a Regional Development Bank for the Central West.

6362

CSO: 3001

FRG NEWSPAPER INTERVIEWS JUNTA MEMBER MATTHEI

Bonn DIE WELT in German 22 Sep 80 p 5

[Interview with Fernando Matthei, Chile's air force chief, by Manfred Neuber: "Chile/Junta General Assures: There Will Be a Civilian After Pinochet: 'The Free Market Economy Is a Success for Us'"]

[Text] Santiago—Chile is hoping for better relations with the FRG "when people there realize that we are making solid progress toward transfer to a democratic system," General Fernando Matthei (55) said in a conversation with DIE WELT. Matthei is chief of Chile's air force and a member of the military junta.

After the failure of the old parliamentary democracy, which made it possible for a minority to bring Chile under communist domination, the only country in the world to do so through free elections, a domination "from which we freed ourselves at the last minute," as the general of German origin explains, the new order could not "occur overnight."

The free world must understand, he said, that Chile does not want to revert to the situation before the takeover by the military on 11 September 1973. Matthei said that the "truth about Chile" could only be asserted gradually, because the image of his country has been distorted for years. He responds to the criticism of the Pinochet regime by CDU politicians: "CDU politicians in the FRG actually must recognize that the model of a free market economy most compatible to their own interests was introduced and has been a great success here."

About the Christian Democrat former president Eduardo Frei the junta member maintained that he is allowing himself to be put to work by the popular front as the most recent statements from Mexico by Allende's widow have revealed. Matthei drew the following conclusion from the results of the referendum on Chile's new constitution: "Today we have more than two-thirds of the population behind us. The Marxists always amounted to at least 20 percent. That means that the rest are only generals without armies."

WELT: Are you speaking of former party leaders?

Matthei: Yes, they are still planning campaigns and have at best staff officers. I know many Christian Democrats who want to construct a new democratic order with us. We can tread the same path, even if they do not agree with everything that we do.... We are not trying to disguise the fact that we have an autocratic government, but it is being transformed step by step into a democratic one.

WELT: Frei has proposed forming a transitional government composed of military and civilian politicians...

Matthei: Do Messrs Frei, Zaldívar, and whatever their names might be believe that they could find idiots in uniform who would join forces with them after they picked on the military for years?

WELT: Not even young officers who perhaps...

Matthei: The politicians have no idea how disciplined and loyal our armed forces are. They stand behind their superiors to the last man.

WELT: Is it esprit de corps or concern about a possible "purge" if there were another regime?

Matthei: A government that would try something like that would not survive a single day.

The air force chief conceded that General Pinochet's decision shortly before the plebiscite not to be a candidate in the presidential election planned for 1989 favorably influenced the results of the voting. "Many people would not have been happy with the prospect of having the president remain in office until 1997." According to Matthei his successor will not come from the junta, rather he will be a civilian politician. At the latest within 3 years a law will be passed on the admission of new parties.

According to the new constitution Marxist parties remain prohibited. Matthei explained: "The parties in the new democracy should also have a democratic internal structure. We do not want any cadre parties directed by foreign countries."

During the conversation on the 15th floor of the government residence Diego Portales the pilot general underscored the government's great social achievements. International organizations have just certified Chile's high rate of literacy and the lowest rate of infant mortality in Latin America. With a continuously high rate of economic growth (more than 8.5 percent) the country with the "crazy geography" (a 4,000-kilometer-long narrow strip between the Andes and the Pacific Ocean) likewise is in a leading position.

Currently Chile is experiencing a construction boom. Within 8 years 900,000 dwellings are to be created. The state which eliminated almost all subventions and fostered free competition, however, contributes to the costs of individual homes for residents of low income. Health care and schools are to be improved by decentralization of the bureaucracy. "Before everybody waited to see what Santiago was doing. Now the cities can take matters into their own hands. This way more of the tax revenues are kept locally," Matthei explained.

General Matthei provided DIE WELT with a sense of things on the directional struggles openly discussed in Chile between hawks and doves in the junta and in the armed forces by frowning at the replacement of the cosmopolitan foreign minister, Hernán Cubillos, who was successful in Europe, with the chief of state, Pinochet (officially because of Pinochet's punctured Asian trip, unofficially because of pressures exerted by Cubillos to liberalize the regime).

CHILE

IMAGE ABROAD DEEMED IMPORTANT, UNDERESTIMATED

Santiago EL MERCURIO in Spanish 10 Oct 80 p A-3

[Editorial: "Necessary Understanding"]

[Text] After reading a letter written by a U.S. diplomat to the WASHINGTON POST, which EL MERCURIO published yesterday, the need for understanding the Chilean situation becomes obvious. It is indispensable that foreign public opinion understand Chile and understanding is also absolutely necessary within our country in order to learn about Chile's internal problems and those which arise from our international relations.

The letter to the WASHINGTON POST was written by U.S. diplomat Robert A. Stevenson, political counselor at the U.S. Embassy from 1962 to 1965, in other words during a period when ideological and political refinement reached a peak. That U.S. diplomat had at that time an in-depth knowledge of the great virtues of our democratic and political life as well as of the weaknesses of the system. Mr. Robert A. Stevenson could not have ignored that our active democracy, "vibrant and intensely political" as described by the WASHINGTON POST, reached a small circle of citizens and that the concepts of social progress coexisted with the irritating state of extreme poverty and backwardness of the masses.

Mr. Stevenson has clearly understood that the vast majority of Chileans are anxious for peace and wish to dedicate themselves, without obstacles, to productive work. It is natural then that they have supported the military government for 7 years and that they have given President Pinochet overwhelming support as expressed by the 11 September plebiscite.

However, Stevenson stresses his surprise over the Chilean's lack of understanding over the damage to Chilean-U.S. relations following the murder of Orlando Letelier. This is an important aspect which we are not always aware of. We Chileans are very closely tied to our internal problems and are perhaps extra sensitive to criticism from abroad. Thus we are not aware of the damage to our respectability abroad by such unfortunate acts as the murder of former minister Letelier.

We should ponder the ideas of this U.S. diplomat because Chile's distance from the large world centers invites a kind of provincial indifference to foreign events or acts caused directly or indirectly by Chile abroad.

Nations that are more in tune with international events or that are more observant react quickly to threats or dangers from abroad. We Chileans suffer from a certain blindness in this matter. We are an inward looking people. Convinced that by solving our internal problems we are adequately prepared to effectively meet external problems, we are satisfied with the achievement of small successes within our own boundaries and we have no fear of defying large powers simply because we do not physically appreciate the danger of the challenge.

In an era when the people are fully aware that the military regime has support that is unprecedented in the history of any government, it is worthwhile for us to overcome the mental barriers which to date have prevented us from making broad and flexible international decisions. Inter-relationships among nations that are more meaningful and broader in scope make isolation undesirable regardless of the reasons for it and even though there is a potential for large future gains. The growing success of Chile's economic experience, which should be followed by success in the political model, obligates us to move toward an international opening, to a greater understanding of foreign positions and to show greater modesty in dealing with Chile's reality and its future.

U.S. diplomat Stevenson has done us a service through his efforts to dissipate the errors and perverse opinions held in the United States about Chile, but he has also given us some advice which should always be kept in mind: Chileans cannot live with their backs to the world and it is best that they realize this.

8599

CSO: 3010

CHILE

ADMINISTRATIVE REFORM PLANS ENDORSED

Santiago EL MERCURIO in Spanish 7 Oct 80 p A-3

[Editorial: "Administrative Reforms"]

[Text] CONARA [National Administrative Reform Commission] Minister-president Gen Roberto Soto announced, during the seminar on Government Administration and the Principle of Subsidiaries, that the basic goals of the entire administrative reform program should be the reduction in the number of ministers, a reduction in the number of public servants and improvement of their training.

As is known at the start of the year the president issued presidential guidelines establishing the basic objectives to be pursued in modernizing the government. It involves a real effort to debureaucratize the administrative processes, improve and simplify the traditional red tape, strengthen the process of regionalization, bolster the role of the mayors and improve municipal services, conduct a general reorganization of the ministries, public services and institutions to eliminate duplication and other irregularities and to prepare an organic law governing the administration of the government.

The need for a modern and functional public administration is obvious since in one way or another all renovation projects which the country has undertaken depend on the existence of efficient and expeditious administrative mechanisms.

What is more the reform of the government is closely tied to the current government's great political program which aims to restore freedom as the guiding principle for all social activity, strengthening individual initiative in all areas of daily life.

For this reason the principle which administrative reform should underscore is that the government assume only those activities which because of their very nature unequivocally fall within the government's domain and that private enterprise be allowed to develop its entire creative capacity to solve the vast majority of the public's problems.

To achieve this it is necessary to drastically reduce the power of government agencies, power which they have enjoyed for decades, and create mechanisms that will allow participation by individuals and safeguard the inviolability of their rights.

In this respect CONARA's position that the number of ministries should be closer to seven or eight, with the remaining ministries becoming mere departments, might be a valuable contribution to the attainment of an administrative structure that is more in tune with current needs. However, a cutback in the number of ministries alone will not guarantee the decentralization of power and, therefore, it must be accompanied by measures guaranteeing that the citizens will be "the natural, only and direct beneficiaries of the functions performed by officials according to the law," as CONARA has said.

Also important is the decision to cut back on the number of public employees gradually so as not to increase the number of unemployed. A general characteristic of lesser developed countries is the existence of huge bureaucratic machines which paralyze reorganization rather than furthering the government's development plans. In the past the slow rate of economic growth, the shortage of productive employment opportunities and highly statist political ideas led to the abnormal growth of the bureaucracy which resulted in administrative inefficiency. The new policies and the idea that administrative tasks are activities requiring special technical training signal the possibility of a modern state which guarantees real freedom.

8599

CSO: 3010

CHILE

BRIEFS

CONGRESS ON ACCIDENT PREVENTION--Vina Del Mar, 21 Oct (AFP)--Military representatives of Argentina, Brazil, Colombia, Ecuador, the United States, Guatemala, Honduras, Panama, Uruguay and Chile are attending the Fourth Meeting of the Committee for the Prevention of Accidents of the Air Forces of America, which will end on 24 October. [PY222023 Paris AFP in Spanish 1455 GMT 21 Oct 80 PY]

TRADE MISSION IN SINGAPORE--A Chilean trade mission headed by Chilean Foreign Ministry director Javier Illanes has arrived in Singapore to see about increasing commercial ties between the two countries. This visit is part of a tour which will encompass the five ASEAN countries. [PY202025 Santiago Chile Domestic Service in Spanish 1630 GMT 20 Oct 80]

ODEPLAN DIRECTOR TO FRG--Miguel Kast, the ODEPLAN [National Planning Office] director, has left for the FRG, where he will attend a seminar on European and Chilean economic problems. Kast was invited by a local university that is sponsoring the seminar. During his stay Kast will also give lectures on social and economic development in Chile. He will also visit Great Britain and Italy, where he will contact representatives of both government and private business sectors. [PY151352 Santiago Chile Domestic Service in Spanish 1000 GMT 15 Oct 80 PY]

CREATION OF SPACE COMMITTEE--The Chilean Government has created a space committee that will be in charge of drafting the law that will establish a Chilean space commission. It will also advise the president on matters pertaining to this activity until the new law is issued. This will enable Chile to have in the near future an organization to represent the country at the many international forums on this subject and have a channel for all international aid and technical cooperation that may be rendered to our country. [PY151351 Santiago Chile Domestic Service in Spanish 1000 GMT 15 Oct 80 PY]

BRITISH BANK LOAN--London, 6 Oct (AFP)--Barclays Bank has granted the Bank of Santiago a \$5 million-credit line, which will be used for Chilean purchases of British equipment during the next 12 months. [PY161238 Paris AFP in Spanish 2020 GMT 6 Oct 80 PY]

NEW OFFSHORE OIL RIG--The National Petroleum Enterprise (ENAP) has reported that the SP-3 platform, which is the third offshore platform at the Spiteful deposit, has started production with approximately 3,000 cubic meters daily. The platform is situated in Laredo Bay, 25 km north of Punta Arenas, in the Magellan Strait. [PY161238 Santiago Chile EL MERCURIO in Spanish 30 Sep 80 p 8 PY]

IMPORT FIGURES--According to a report of the Central Bank, Chile imported \$8.5 million worth of whiskey during the period January-August as compared to \$9.5 million for the same period last year. The report adds that Chile imported 28,386 vehicles during the first 8 months of the year. [Santiago Chile Domestic Service in Spanish 1100 GMT 8 Oct 80 PY]

AGRICULTURE MINISTER IN JAPAN--Chilean agriculture minister, Alfonso Marquez de La Plata, has arrived in Japan and today met with his Japanese counterpart, Takao Kameoka, with whom he discussed Chilean wood exports to Japan and Japanese technical cooperation for the development of the forestry sector in Chile. [PY212044 Santiago Chile Domestic Service in Spanish 1630 GMT 21 Oct 80 PY]

TRADE DEFICIT--According to the Central Bank, the Chilean trade balance during the first 8 months of the year showed a deficit of \$351.1 million. During the mentioned period Chile imported goods worth \$3.5994 million as compared to \$2.6385 million in the same period of 1979 and exported goods worth \$3.2483 million as compared to \$2.3726 million last year. Chile's main trade partner during January-August 1980 was the United States which accounted for \$1.3355 million, Japan with \$720 million, Brazil with \$590.5 million and the FRG with \$552.9 million. [figures as received] [PY241809 Buenos Aires LATIN in Spanish 2252 GMT 4 Oct 80 PY]

TRADE WITH SPAIN--Raul Artigas Jara, president of the Chilean-Spanish Business Chamber pointed out that bilateral trade during 1978 and 1979 increased by 59.6 percent and that during the first 8 months of the current year it amounted to \$184.6 million. He also said that the main products purchased are: copper which amounted to \$58.8 million, fish and seafood for \$16.3 million, celulosa and various minerals. Chile has bought from Spain transport equipment, electric domestic appliances, textile machinery and agricultural equipment, books and other Spanish-made products. [PY241809 Santiago Chile EL MERCURIO in Spanish 13 Oct 80 p 5 PY]

PUBLICATION OF MAGAZINE BANNED--Santiago, Chile, 18 Oct (AFP)--The Chilean Supreme Court has passed down a decision which confirms the decision of the military authorities to prohibit the publication of the bi-weekly magazine GENTE ACTUAL. The first edition of this magazine, which among others belong to members of the proscribed Christian Democratic Party, was never circulated, by decision of the military chief of the Santiago Emergency Zone. [PY241809 Paris AFP in Spanish 1529 GMT 18 Oct 80 PY]

SALARY READJUSTMENT--The National Statistics Institute announced that as of yesterday a salary readjustment of 14 percent has been implemented for the workers of the public sector, pensioners and for those of the private sector who are not subject to collective bargaining agreements. [PY241809 Santiago Chile LA NACION in Spanish 2 Oct 80 p 2 PY]

CSO: 3010

ETHIOPIAN FOREIGN MINIST : NOTE ON HORN OF AFRICA STATUS

Havana GRANMA in Spanish : 2 Sep 80 p 6

[Letter from Ethiopian Foreign Affairs Minister Gedle-Giorgis Felleke to Isidoro Octavio Malmierca Peoli, Cuban minister of foreign relations, on recent events threatening the stability of the Horn of Africa]

[Text] Comrade Isidoro Malmierca, minister of foreign relation, Republic of Cuba, Havana:

I am honored to call your urgent attention to the following events which have been seriously undermining the stability of the Horn of Africa, thus creating a serious threat to the maintenance of international peace and security.

In flagrant violation of the charter and decisions of the OAU and the principles of the Nonaligned Countries Movement and despite a great loss in life and property amounting to billions of dollars caused by the invading army in the administrative areas of eastern and southeastern Ethiopia during the war of aggression which Somalia unleashed against Ethiopia in 1977 and 1978, the Somali government is still persisting in its insatiable ambition for territorial expansion and enlargement at the expense of all its neighbors.

Ignoring international public opinion which has emphatically condemned its nonprovoked aggression against my country and without obtaining information about the ignominious defeat it suffered at the hands of the Ethiopian Revolutionary Army, the Somali government has engaged in provocative activities in recent months infiltrating thousands of its regular troops into Ethiopia with the deliberate intention of sabotaging, subverting and promoting its most recent aggression.

Having repudiated the invading army by resorting to its legitimate right of self-defense, Ethiopia showed maximum restraint in ordering its defensive troops to stop their advance at the common border. My government had also offered clear-cut conditions for the restoration of regional peace, stability and harmony based on the cardinal principles of respect for the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of states, the inviolability of frontiers, the nonuse of force and noninterference in the internal affairs of each other.

The Somalia government not only refrained from answering our appeal for peace but even delighted in engaging in a number of machinations aimed at disorienting and deceiving world public opinion and opening the way for its latest aggression against Ethiopia.

Its unending but spurious complaints to the United Nations about alleged attacks by Ethiopia and its claims of having been inundated by Ethiopian refugees while diverting humanitarian aid to supply its aggressive forces are only two of the more conspicuous examples of its hypocrisy. The Mogadishu government and those imperialist powers which are obsessed only with the acquisition of military bases to use as a springboard for aggression and destabilization are totally responsible for the horrendous effects that aggression and destabilization are having with regard to the preservation of international peace and security.

Since the troops which Somalia previously infiltrated did not enable the Mogadishu government to achieve its expansionist objectives, that government recently engaged in open aggression against Ethiopia. Once more it made a massive deployment of its regular armed forces fully equipped with the latest and most deadly weapons, including various types of missiles, light and heavy artillery, tanks, armored trucks, 106 mm antitank artillery, various explosives and mines and many other weapons of U.S. and NATO origin. The 14,000 fully mechanized troops which Somalia put into action, with three divisions in the rear guard, attacked the town of Warder in Ogaden on five occasions and from four different points. The 1st, 4th and 5th Infantry divisions participated in the full-scale attack. Also participating in the attack were 6 Infantry brigades, 1 commando brigade, 1 police combat brigade, 1 mechanized brigade with 60 vehicles of Italian origin and 4 artillery battalions each equipped with 10 pieces of 122 mm artillery.

Confronted by units of the Ethiopian Revolutionary Army, the invading forces clearly show that the Mogadishu government is at present in complete harmony with imperialism, which is openly supporting Somalia's expansionist ambitions to further its own strategic interests in the area.

Somalia's objective and purpose in its latest desperate attempt were to undermine the consolidation of the Ethiopian revolution and the progress of the economic and social development it has achieved. Somalia's frustration was further intensified by Ethiopia's peaceful efforts to promote a spirit of understanding, cooperation and good neighborly relations with its closest neighbors.

Beginning with the army's defeat in 1978, Siad Barre's regime has since been seriously threatened by internal opposition and conflict which have been aggravated by the unfortunate ventures he continues to promote and by his extremely poor administration. Determined to divert public attention from the increasing domestic problems it is facing, Barre's regime has intentionally sent its opponents on

missions which are impossible to fulfill with the obvious purpose of eliminating those opponents in the process.

Fully aware that one of the objectives of the Somalian government is to try to get Ethiopia to cross the common border and then capitalize on that act, we shall continue to exercise self-control. However, the international community must understand that there is a limit to our patience. Consequently, the world community should not be content with verbal condemnation of Somalia's latest aggression but, rather, take a strong position aimed at eliminating similar aggressions in the future.

In urgently calling your attention to this problem, it is my obligation to inform you that my government reserves the right to resort to other legitimate measures of self-defense as provided by Article 51 of the UN Charter. My government will also hold the Somalian government and its benefactors responsible for all consequences of its latest attack on my country.

The series of full-scale attacks committed by Somalia against Ethiopia is creating a serious threat to international peace and security. I am therefore honored to request that you present this matter to the attention of the current chairman of the Nonaligned Countries Movement, Comrade Fidel Castro Ruz, and inform him of our request that the text of this communique be circulated to all Countries which are members of that movement.

With high esteem,

Felleke Gedle-Giorgis, minister of foreign affairs of Socialist Ethiopia

8568

CSO: 3010

'GRANMA' SCORES VENEZUELA'S COPEI FOR SABATEUR RULING

Charges 'Complicity'

Havana GRANMA WEEKLY REVIEW in English 12 Oct 80 p 1

[Editorial: "Crime Upon Crime, Infamy Upon Infamy"]

[Text]

THE FOURTH anniversary of the monstrous Barbados crime is upon us in circumstances that make it 1000 times more abhorrent and more deserving of our indignation. To the amazement and derision of humankind, the heartless assassins who one day shook the world with horror, and whose uninterred victims are still crying out for justice from the bottom of the sea, among the scattered remains of the plane the criminals blew up in mid-flight, are now on the verge of being acquitted by the court that is trying them, in evident complicity with the Government of Venezuela.

On that Cuban plane were traveling 57 exemplary, devoted sons and daughters of our people, including two complete crews of our airline enterprise, with a brilliant service record; the members of the junior fencing team, euphoric on their way back to their homeland laden with medals, after carrying off all the first places in the Central American and Caribbean Championship; people working in the fishing industry; and other valuable comrades. With them were 11 Guyanese citizens, young people coming to study medicine in our universities, and five officials of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.

There can be no words to describe the inconceivable cruelty of that act.

How can one begin to describe the last minutes of those 57 defenseless people, trapped in a craft at a height of thousands of feet above the sea, who, in such an unexpected and cowardly way, were suddenly hit by a violent explosion, engulfed in flames, asphyxiated by gases and hurled with no possible salvation to a dreadful death?

How can one begin to describe the spirit and heroism of the pilots who, even in such terrible circumstances, made a superhuman effort to pilot the plane back to land?

Four years have not been enough to dry the burning tears of our people, one in pain, feeling the death of each and every one of those hard-working, exemplary, humble and promising compatriots that day as if each was a son, a parent or a sister. Four centuries will not be enough either.

Only justice can assuage the pain. It's not a question of making those despicable murderers pay for the crime they have committed. All their lives together could not compensate for a single second in the life of any of the Cubans who died on October 6, 1976. It's a question of something much more important. History demands that such an act not go unpunished. It was essential that, along with the moral sanction of humankind, there be a legal sanction, so that crimes of this kind cannot repeat themselves and so that those whose lives were cut short in their prime will at least stand to save many other human beings potentially threatened by the practices of those crazed agents of terrorism and international crime.

It was to be supposed that any responsible government, with an elementary sense of justice and national honor, would have put such reasons above any other considerations or any ideological differences between it and Cuba.

But this has not been the case with the Social Christian Government of Venezuela.

Since it came to power, a whole sordid scene of lies has surrounded the legal proceedings against the four individuals charged with blowing up the Cuban plane.

It was not by any means easy for the Carlos Andrés Pérez government to open proceedings against the criminals. It had to deal with delaying tactics, pressures, threats, affronts and even attempted sabotage. But, despite its well-known divergences with our country, that government acted firmly, decorously and with a sense of responsibility. Although there were many pitfalls

in the way of the work of the courts, they were slowly surmounted and there was the certainty that sooner or later justice would prevail.

Everything changed, however, when the ruling COPEI clique installed itself in Miraflores Palace.

The true cause of this is not hard to understand. While the previous government kept its differences with Cuba at a noble, respectful distance, the current rulers of Venezuela have given themselves over to a dirty maneuver in complicity with other international reactionary forces, to foment provocation, revive old threats, worsen the blockade and try to slander and isolate Cuba from the peoples of the continent. While the previous government followed a sovereign and even solidary Latin American policy, the present government has done the exact opposite and is tainted with the heroic blood of the Salvadoran people, whose slaughterers it has been backing and advising with no qualms whatsoever. While the previous government had nothing to do with the massacre, there are politicians in power in Venezuela today who are involved, have a lot to do with the intellectual and material authors of the barbaric Barbados sabotage.

We're not going to find out anything that isn't public knowledge in Venezuela and other places.

The bomb destruction of the Cuban plane was the work of small, counterrevolutionary terrorist groupings and is part of a campaign of threats, attacks and attempts on the lives of Cuban officials in many countries of the Caribbean and in Argentina, the United States and Portugal. These groups are known to have had links with the now ousted Somoza regime and with the Chilean repressive bodies. They are also known to have been involved in such repugnant acts as the assassination of Chilean former Foreign Minister Orlando Letelier. These elements are known to have bases, as well as local agents and contacts, in several parts of the United States and in countries of the Caribbean to carry out their dirty work.

Everyone knows that the main perpetrator of this crime, a cynical, depraved assassin by the name of Orlando Bosch, had a base of terrorist operations in Caracas, run by another of the men implicated, Luis Posada Carriles. Everyone knows that Posada was a Batista follower who acquired Venezuelan nationality, that he ended up a notorious torturer and murderer in the Venezuelan political police before the Carlos Andrés Pérez government and that he had close ties with politically influential circles in the COPEI Party. Everyone also knows that the material authors of the sabotage, Freddy Lugo and Hernán Ricardo, are two individuals whose ties with the political police, Posada and the COPEI clique go back to that time.

This explains all. As has been confirmed in the recent courageous statements made by Venezuelan journalist Alicia Herrera, the four criminals had been told a while ago that nothing would happen to them, that their dossiers would be fixed, that the witnesses' evidence would be changed under

pressure and that the military court would finally acquit them. The privileged conditions of confinement for these individuals was in itself a grotesque farce. The Venezuelan security services paid them a substantial sum each month after month. This is the reality that arouses indignation, and the Venezuelan Government knows full well that there is not a single word in her statements that is anything but the truth and the whole truth.

It would be difficult to sink to greater depths of infamy.

Who are the COPEI ruling clique hoping to take in with their pharisaical invocations of the independent decisions of the courts? Who are they out to make a mockery of with all their legal talk but no solid backing to their arguments? Who do they aim to bamboozle with their hypocritical guise of defenders of "human rights," "democracy" and "national dignity"? Are they not the ones committing a crime that defies description against the law, human rights and the very dignity of their country?

The Venezuelan Government knows that the military court is acquitting the guilty. It knows that there is irrefutable evidence against them. And it knows that they are self-confessed murderers, since one of the two who directly committed the crime, Hernán Ricardo, is publicly known to have confessed to the police in Trinidad and Tobago that he and Lugo had planted the bomb that exploded in midair aboard the Cuban plane. Judge Delia Estaba Moreno, who opened the proceedings, has honestly declared only recently how strong the evidence is pointing to the guilt of the detained.

Let the Venezuelan Government deny this if it can!

We are convinced that this monstrous act of provocation will have many more, serious repercussions than those its miserly promoters are perhaps capable of foreseeing.

Four years ago, a band of mercenary gangsters, who know no country or law, murdered 73 defenseless human beings. Today, it is a government that coldly murders justice, tramples on the law and has utter disregard for the integrity of all humankind.

The decision to acquit the terrorists is a crime greater than the sabotage itself. That act took its toll of 73 victims; what the Venezuelan Government is doing today might well take its toll of hundreds of thousands of innocent lives. The bloodthirsty assassins will be loose on the streets, free to do as they wish. And many other assassins like them will feel free, will be encouraged to commit the same atrocities. That is the fateful role the Venezuelan Government has cast for itself.

Those who are today so blinded by their hatred of Cuba and so incapable of bearing the dignified, prestigious international role of our country as to plot such crimes will not have long to wait before they see how their shameless actions backfire on them. The peoples will never forgive them for such an affront. No soldier of

honor will want to be associated with such villainy. The noble, heroic Venezuelan people will never forgive them for this insult. These dirty deprecators of the nation's honor and Venezuela's responsibility to the world community will face, are already facing, the firm repudiation of all honest Venezuelans and the strongest of condemnations on the part of international public opinion.

For now, the Venezuelan Government will bear the sole responsibility for all the consequences

of this act where official relations between Venezuela and Cuba are concerned.

For centuries, from the depths of their hearts, our people will repudiate this monstrous Barbados sabotage; for centuries also they will remember and abhor this decision on the part of the current Government of Venezuela, which heightens the crime and infamy of four years ago manifold. But neither the crime nor the infamy will go unpunished. Such moral dwarves will fall by the wayside; our martyrs will live forever.

COPEI Accused of Wrong-Doing

Havana: GRANMA WEEKLY REVIEW in English 12 Oct 80 p 2

[Text]



THE LATIN American public and that of the rest of the world have just learned of new important disclosures on the incredible, repugnant scheme devised in Caracas — for which the Venezuelan Government is directly responsible — to set free those who committed the monstrous crime off Barbados. Venezuelan professional journalist Alicia Herrera spent a long time interviewing the criminals in prison and obtaining detailed information on the way they sabotaged a Cuban airliner that resulted in the death of 73 people. She openly accused the COPEI clique that rules Venezuela of having worked out a disgraceful plot to acquit the four assassins.

The charges made by the Venezuelan journalist — a story in itself — also reveal the hypocritical nature of the Social Christian regime in Venezuela which has made it a point to declare itself, in the corridors of international organizations and in official documents, a defender of human rights while in fact protecting, and therefore encouraging, monsters capable of committing the most horrible crimes.

The attitude of the prosecutor, the military court and, above all, the Venezuelan Government was so utterly shameful, despicable and immoral that journalist Alicia Herrera, fully realizing that human dignity and justice were being trampled by the COPEI clique and that an attempt was being made to let a crime condemned by all humanity go unpunished, decided to risk her life in order to let the world know the truth.

Although the people of Cuba have closely followed the trial of assassins Orlando Bosch, Luis Posada, Hernán Ricardo and Freddy Lugo and are well informed regarding these criminals' guilt in the sabotage of the Cubana plane on October 6, 1976, the new evidence brought to light by the Venezuelan journalist in a press conference in Mexico has aroused great interest, not only in Cuba but abroad as well.

The journalist's disclosures constitute additional irrefutable evidence of the defendants' participation in the monstrous crime and, furthermore, reveal the sinister official plan, the Venezuelan Government's influence on the court's decision to exonerate the self-confessed criminals, the criminals' links with the Venezuelan security services, the changes made in the case files and the pressure exerted on witnesses in order to fabricate juridical pretexts and hide behind an alleged separation of powers.

— But that's not all.

The Venezuelan journalist also revealed that the terrorists, especially their leader, had been involved in other crimes and acts of sabotage in this hemisphere which included the sabotaging of Venezuelan planes, and she also made it known that one of the main plans that Orlando Bosch intends to carry out as soon as he is released is to assassinate the former president of Venezuela, Carlos Andrés Pérez, with whom, he told her, he was "going to settle accounts."

It is common knowledge that Carlos Andrés Pérez, who was president of Venezuela when the Barbados saboteurs were arrested, took firm and forceful measures to foil the schemes and the pressure tactics to protect the assassins, thereby acting in a totally responsible way and with deep concern for his country's honor. And his political and ideological differences with our Revolution are well known. The present Government of Venezuela, the military court and the prosecutor are well aware of the fact that by planning to release those guilty of the Barbados crime they're not only absolving them of all guilt and committing a brutal, unpardonable act of provocation against Cuba, but also opening the doors and giving free rein to terrorism, crime and murder that know no borders or nationality, thereby showing absolute disregard for the hemisphere's desires for peace and tranquility.

As Fidel said, "The fact that the culprits go unpunished — after having been in the hands of the authorities, after having been in prison — can go a long way toward encouraging similar incidents, and then instead of one it will be ten, 20 or 100 times that the peoples will have to mourn over atrocities of that sort."

The tremendous responsibility assumed by the Venezuelan Government has not gone unnoticed by international public opinion, and it was also denounced by journalist Alicia Herrera in her press conference. She said, "I want to reiterate my charges that if the four assassins responsible for the Barbados crime and many other acts of terrorism are freed, the government of Herrera Campins will be an accomplice, and the world will hold it responsible for whatever crimes these despicable individuals commit in the future."

The action taken by Alicia Herrera, a journalist of much experience in Venezuela, shows the feelings that can be aroused in defense of national honor when it is violated by unscrupulous elements — like those who want to release those guilty of the Barbados crime. The Venezuelan journalist's courageous and honorable gesture confirms our people's opinion of the noble and fraternal character of the Venezuelan people.

We are convinced that among the Venezuelan people — a people who, at the cost of their own lives and with the collaboration of worthy, honest members of the military, had the courage to overthrow tyrants like Pérez Jiménez — there are millions, including decent, honest members of the military, who regardless of their ideology or creed are firmly opposed to such a monstrous, shameful action as that of setting free a group of assassins who blew up a plane in midair with 73 defenseless people aboard.

As the Venezuelan journalist said, the decision taken by her country's Social Christian government, the military court and the prosecutor to acquit the criminals constitutes "an insult to justice and to human dignity." And that government, that military court and that prosecutor should not forget that there are countless men and women in Venezuela who have very high regard for justice and dignity.

COPEI Involved in Acquittal

Havana GRANMA WEEKLY REVIEW in English 12 Oct 80 p 2

[Text] The abhorrent machinations going on in Caracas with the complicity of the COPEI clique that rules Venezuela to acquit the assassins who blew up a plane in flight with 73 persons aboard and to leave such a horrible crime unpunished, continue to astound world public opinion and to draw protest from many personalities and organizations in Latin America.

The Venezuelan Government's representatives who are sponsoring these outrageous plans are not fooling anybody with their hypocritical "juridical" arguments about an alleged separation of powers. There's no room for excuses or pretexts of any kind in this matter. World public opinion, including Venezuelan public opinion, is well aware of the fact that terrorists Orlando Bosch, Luis Posada, Hernán Ricardo and Freddy Lugo are guilty of the crime off Barbados. Everybody knew this from the very beginning, and the evidence leaves no doubt as to their guilt.

This has been confirmed in Caracas by Judge Delia Estaba Moreno who in October 1976 was designated special trial judge for the case of the Cubana plane sabotage that resulted in the death of 57 Cubans, 11 Guyanese and five Koreans.

When world public opinion was still recovering from the shock of the charges made by noted Venezuelan journalist Alicia Herrera, who added new and irrefutable evidence of the guilt of those accused of the monstrous crime and revealed interesting details about the changes made in the original dossier, the news agencies reported on an interview granted by Judge Delia Estaba Moreno to the Caracas daily *El Nacional*, in which she confirmed again that the dossier contained enough evidence to prove that those under arrest — Bosch, Posada, Ricardo and Lugo — were guilty of the crime.

Judge Estaba Moreno explained, "When I ordered the arrest of those persons, I based myself on the provisions of Article 182 of the Criminal Procedure Code." Said article states that the trial judge shall issue an order of arrest "when there are well-founded indications of guilt."

Judge Estaba Moreno also said, "When the dossier left this court it contained sufficient evidence, and the arrest orders were confirmed by the military court. However, I have no idea what happened to the dossier after it left my hands."

These statements weren't made by just anybody. They were made by Venezuelan Judge Delia Estaba Moreno, a prestigious jurist with many years of professional experience who was in charge of the case for several months until it was transferred from civil jurisdiction to the military courts. She opened the dossier on the case and is thoroughly familiar with every detail of the investigation and proceedings. This is why her courageous statements prove that the course of the proceedings had been diverted toward a dirty, monstrous maneuver aided and abetted by the present Government of Venezuela.

Judge Estaba Moreno's firm, coolheaded statements demonstrate that justice in Venezuela has not been debased and that a clumsy attempt is being made to handcuff it through an action that has all the earmarks of an act of provocation against Cuba, an action that runs counter to the worldwide clamor for an end to air piracy and terrorism, an action that, if successful, will cast an indelible mark on the prestige of the Venezuelan armed forces, on the Venezuelan state and on the Venezuelan Government.

Judge Estaba Moreno's dignified stand is in keeping with her unwavering attitude throughout the time she was in charge of the case: an attitude characterized by impartiality, forcefulness, honesty and resolve to punish those guilty of the horrible crime.

It wasn't by accident that the defense attorneys made repeated efforts to challenge her for lack of competence when she was in charge of the case, nor was it by accident that instead of contesting the serious evidence that existed against the defendants they tried to postpone the trial and have the main dossier transferred to another judge.

These delaying tactics were accompanied with threats, pressure and contempt of judiciary and executive authority. As everyone will remember, in those months in 1977 terrorist groups linked to ringleader Orlando Bosch tried to sabotage a Venezuelan passenger plane and carried out an act of sabotage against the Venezuelan airlines offices in Florida demanding the release of the assassins. It was also at that time that the Daily Journal published an interview with Bosch in which he made all kinds of insulting and slanderous remarks about then Venezuelan President Carlos Andrés Pérez.

No amount of pressure was able to stop Judge Della Estaba Moreno from acting according to justice and reason. The prosecutor of the military court to where the case was transferred called for a sentence of 30 years' imprisonment, based on the evidence. And then, the same prosecutor, following orders from above, asked for an acquittal, a request that was quickly ratified by the military court.

The facts themselves; the charges about the changes made in the dossier; the promises made by the Venezuelan Government officials to the criminals that they would be set free; the criminals' well-known links with the Venezuelan security services; the pressure exerted on witnesses to change their initial statements; the overwhelming evidence produced by Venezuelan journalist Alicia Herrera; and, most recently, the courageous statements made by Judge Della Estaba Moreno confirm that efforts are being made to commit an action as monstrous as the sabotage off Barbados. Acting coldly and deliberately, a state has assumed the protection of those guilty of a barbarous crime, thus making it possible with such incredible behavior for crazed individuals filled with hatred, for professional killers like those who blew up the Cuban passenger plane in flight, to quench their thirst for blood through the repetition of similar acts.

The Venezuelan people's response to this horrible scheme demonstrates that the COPEI clique is making a mistake by thinking that justice and dignity in Venezuela no longer exist. It's not so easy to play around with a nation's conscience, honor and dignity!

If the prosecutor, the military court and the government of Venezuela insist on committing this crime, they'll have to go through with it alone, without the participation of those who really represent justice and to whom the magistrate's gown is a symbol of duty. They will have to carry it out against the will of the people of Venezuela, of the peoples of the rest of Latin America and of all conscientious governments of this hemisphere and the world over.


JORGE RIQUET COMMEMORATES 'GRANMA' ANNIVERSARY

Havana GRANMA WEEKLY REVIEW in English 12 Oct 80 p 9

[Text]

Speech delivered by Jorge Riquet, member of the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Cuba, in a ceremony to commemorate the 15th anniversary of the founding of the daily Granma held in the Luis A. Turcios Lima Auditorium of the Ministry of Communications, in Havana, on October 3, 1980, Year of the 2nd Congress

Comrades:



ON THE occasion of meeting to celebrate the 15th anniversary of the daily Granma, we share the satisfaction of this collective that successfully tackles each day the task of bringing to our citizens the most relevant domestic and international news, our Party's guidelines and the most important efforts of our people who, immersed in their daily chores, read Granma every morning to get a rundown of the information they are interested in.

Anniversaries of various work places are often used to give a rundown of the work done in a given period — a particularly complex task when a newspaper is involved that daily submits the results of its work to the rigor of its own criticism and to the judgment of public opinion. Each day millions of avid readers take over the work done the night before by journalists, editors, photographers, and print, communication, transportation and office workers.

Each edition of the paper becomes, therefore, a literary and political job encompassing widely varying topics that immediately — in a matter of hours — is subjected to the rigorous criticism of millions of readers of all ages, interests, opinions and walks of life.

Someone once said that this multifaceted work is a flower lasting only one day, a flower that buds, opens its newspaper petals and withers all on the same day.

In the case of Granma, this image is valid only if one adds that this daily flower is planted with skill and care, has undergone a long period of germination and only withers — or sowing its seed deep in the consciousness of its readers.

Only those who are on the inside of the exhilarating atmosphere in a newspaper are able to justly appraise what

these 15 years of work in a publication with these characteristics really mean.

It has taken you, Granma workers, an impressively sustained effort for 5000 days and 5000 nights to punctually bring out the organ of the Cuban Revolution whose voice of guidance and denunciation, combat and hope, reaches our people at dawn and is then multiplied over the other media and taken to the four corners of the world.

A well-known Spanish poet once wrote:

Some obscure helots
of pen and paper
till laboriously
so the next day
on the pages of the daily
the world's in your hands,
you're master of the land,
your horizons are widened.

It goes without saying that the workers of Granma are not helots in the sense attached to the word in ancient Sparta, yet they are indeed helots if we consider their unblemished sense of duty, the responsible way in which they work and their dedicated efforts to make each edition better than the one before.

On occasions like this, we cannot but recall the origins of our organ founded, when the Revolution was still young, with the merger of two political papers that had behind them a magnificent revolutionary record.

The fighting tradition of Noticias de Hoy, whose forerunner was *Voz Proletaria*, and the revolutionary impetus of *Revolución*, whose immediate antecedent was *El Cubano Libre*, gave rise to the wonderful symbiosis of which Granma is the result.

THE PATRIOTIC TRADITION OF OUR 'MAMBI' PRESS, THE TRAJECTORY OF WORKER PUBLICATIONS, THE HERITAGE OF THE TEMPERED, BOTH LEGAL AND UNDERGROUND, COMMUNIST PRESS AND THE LATEST OFFSHOOTS OF THE REVOLUTIONARY PRESS WERE THE THREADS LEADING UP TO GRANMA

The patriotic tradition of our *mambí* press, the trajectory of worker publications, the heritage of the tempered, both

legal and underground, communist press and the latest offshoots of the revolutionary press were the threads leading up to Granma.

With its brilliant record, Granma has not only remained faithful to its historical legacy but has also heightened that legacy in such a way that it is now a landmark in the development of journalism in our country.

"The very name of the paper," Fidel once said, "is a symbol of our revolutionary ideas and of our path."

The social function of the press under socialism in itself implies an extraordinary responsibility, new and greater complexity, in the case of a newspaper like Granma that, in addition to conforming to the ethics of the journalistic profession, has its own condition of being the official organ of the Party, voicing its viewpoints and serving as a vehicle to guide and set the pattern for the actions of millions of people.

The growing role of information in the life of modern societies is constantly attaching more importance to the role of the mass media, particularly the press, whose workers must each day sift a considerable volume of material to give their readers broad, varied and interesting information on events that have real relevance and content in line with the needs of a population like ours — highly politicized, aware of widely varying questions and avidly seeking knowledge and news on the most varied problems.

In the pages of Granma — which through its daily presence in homes and work places for 13 years now has become a sort of daily bread — our workers can find the selection that is the result of the entire staff's careful work. Actually, in spite of the fact that everything is still not perfect, the official organ of the Party offers a substantial volume of information whose quality and approach satisfy the needs of the greater part of the population, whose broad range of interests makes a careful distribution of space and a setting of priorities mandatory practically every day.

The basic quality of journalism under the conditions of socialist society is precisely what generates greatest complexity, for it is not just a question of keeping public opinion informed in any old way, overwhelming readers with a chaotic avalanche of information without rhyme or reason, or wasting time and resources in putting on the senseless show typical of the bourgeois press.

When, for instance, we compare Granma with some capitalist dailies whose editions have 30 and more pages, our paper seems minuscule in size.

Yet, on going into content, it can be seen that while the capitalist papers are characterized by a chaotic mixture of very diverse, pompous and trivial information, often unconfirmed and attributed to unidentified sources or simply concocted by the editors, in addition to the ads, fashion pages, sex or diplomacy, with all the gossip and frivolity of the social pages, ours is a daily that is reasonably well ordered, with essential information on matters of real social interest, that focuses on the spheres of greatest interest to the public and that, in the long run, contains more and better information and contributes in a more responsible way to forming mature public opinion, qualified to correctly evaluate what the paper brings each day.

What those who make simple comparisons sometimes fail to understand is that the essential differences between one and the other way of making a newspaper also generate differences in form and content and that the excess information that bourgeois papers boast about so much boils down, in essence, to a sophisticated procedure of disinformation.

To plough his way through all that is dumped on him every morning, the reader of capitalist dailies must himself tackle the task of selecting and analyzing what, in our case, is done each night by Granma's editorial team. In the long run public opinion in the capitalist countries necessarily suffers from indigestion, or worse still, from poisoning of a special kind, falsehoods ranging from subtle distortions of the truth to downright lies and gross slander.

IN THESE LAST 13 YEARS, GRANMA HAS ACHIEVED ITS MAIN GOAL OF KEEPING OUR PEOPLE INFORMED, GUIDING THEM IN THEIR EVERYDAY TASKS, CONTRIBUTING TO THEIR EDUCATION AND EXERTING A POSITIVE INFLUENCE ON HELPING DEVELOP THEIR REVOLUTIONARY AWARENESS

The Granma collective, following its own path and drawing from the experience of the revolutionary and progressive press, has created its own peculiar style and overcome the obstacles stemming from inexperience; it has succeeded in doing away with clichés and in filling the vacuum caused by the absence or lack of regularity of publications specializing in culture, sports, science and technology. In these last 13 years, Granma has achieved its main goal of keeping our people informed, guiding them in their everyday tasks, contributing to their education and exerting a positive influence on helping develop their revolutionary awareness.

There have also been shortcomings in these 13 years. Not everything was done the way it should have been done. However, every single important event, every revolutionary feat and every social achievement was to be found on the pages of Granma.

Day after day, Granma has reflected the activities of the people, life throughout the country, the efforts of its workers, the dedication of its soldiers, the most important developments in Cuban culture, its victories in sports and the progress made in education and public health.

Only recently we were witness to the efforts made to give adequate coverage to the most outstanding technical-scientific feat ever undertaken by a Cuban: the Soviet-Cuban spaceflight that took Granma up into the stars and whose protagonists were cosmonauts Arnaldo Tamayo and Yuri Romanenko, along with Valeri Rumin and Leonid Popov.

In keeping with a necessary system of priorities set by the limitations of space available for each day's issue, Granma reflects the successes of certain work collectives, the progress of the sugar harvest and agricultural development, the advances made in industrialization, the efforts of port and transportation workers, the dedicated work of fishermen and seamen and the victories obtained using higher forms of production in the countryside. In a nutshell, the extraordinary, many-sided, dynamic efforts made in economic and social sectors that contribute to the progress made by our people in the construction of socialism.

The space devoted every day by our paper to the international situation reflects the tenacious and often heroic revolutionary efforts of the peoples engaged in a struggle against imperialism, colonialism, neocolonialism and racism. The progress made by the recently liberated nations in their struggle to free themselves of the burden of centuries of domination is reflected in our paper. And revolutionaries the world over find in the coverage of their struggles a powerful stimulus for their sacrifices and their aspirations.

No important international event escapes Granma's attention. Granma reports on it, analyzes it and often offers its readers conclusions on its results and its role in contemporary international society.

The progress made by the countries building socialism; the internationalist stand of the Soviet Union; a critique of the bourgeois way of life and the ideological currents hostile to socialism are given systematic attention by Granma, which also reserves in each issue the necessary space to cover the speeches of our leaders, particularly those of our commander in chief, which, given their great importance, have often made it necessary to run off over a million copies, which have rapidly sold out.

The pages of Granma have also echoed the criticisms formulated by our leaders and our readers as well to those who show themselves to be incapable or insensitive to people's problems, to those who make incorrect use of common property, to those who make errors in the management of the economy and to those who do not take proper care of social property.

Practically everything of real interest to our people is published day after day by this newspaper that is the daily result of the work, the intellect and the desire for improvement on the part of the revolutionary collective of Granma workers.

Doubtlessly, Granma still has a great deal to do, and the professionals on its roster must make renewed efforts to further their knowledge. There's still room for improvement in some of the departments, in distribution, for example. But, as a whole, the Party and the people are satisfied with the paper, above all on account of the marked improvement in efficiency and the sustained overall progress especially evident since the 1st Congress of the Party.

Nevertheless, this collective, which has been so receptive to fair and opportune criticism, should meditate on the observations made by Comrade Raúl in regard to the press at the recent journalists' congress, which deal with the main aspects of journalistic work. Above all, we would like to insist on his observations on the journalist's role as a worker in the terrain of ideology, who, according to Raúl's words, is "a reproducer of ideology, one who multiplies his appreciations by millions of copies."

This characteristic of the journalist's profession is the source of the great responsibility that falls on those who live and work in this field, who must be aware of the fact that our people's being well informed, well oriented and therefore well prepared to interpret everything that occurs in our country and in the rest of the world and to react accordingly in the face of any problem increasingly depends on the journalist's work, on the effort he puts into his work, his dedication to his work and the extent of his knowledge and ability.

The paper should also improve its profile, make an effort to better reflect the activities of the Party's grass-root organizations, reflect more frequently and in greater depth the results of the Party's work and, above all, keep the people and Party members informed on the results of the activities of leading bodies which often make decisions that take a long time to be made known or do not reach the grass-roots and the population the way they should.

This can only be achieved as correspondents, reporters and activists strengthen their ties with the organizations, learn to grasp better the essence of their work and more frequently attend events in the provinces, the municipalities and major work places.

The organ of the Party, Granma must dedicate its greatest efforts to the ideological work for its pages to reflect, day by day, the complex problems facing the Party in this respect; the virulent, complex class struggle in the ideological sphere; and the problems that it of great importance to clarify in furthering the revolutionary awareness of the masses.

We must realize that the defense of the purity of our ideology, the clarification of our historical past and the effort to salvage the best of our national culture — which, at present, constitutes the main content of the ideological page in some issues — should be well substantiated, not so much with profound, complex and often excessively long theoretical pieces — not always suitable for a daily — as with opportune, skillful treatment of current issues: a critique of the bourgeois way of life and currents hostile to socialism; the problems of peace and détente; the different viewpoints in appraising international cooperation; the situation of the peoples of the so-called Third World; the problems of socialist construction; sociopolitical questions related to the organization of social production; the economic analysis of achievements in production; and other matters of indisputable interest whose coverage involves practical ideological clarifications.

In order to make these aims a reality, we must do more to implement the guidelines emanating from the Party leadership. In this sense, the press in general, and Granma in particular, must pay due attention to the establishment of the mechanisms necessary for implementing the resolution of the 9th Plenary Meeting of the Party of the exercise of criticism in the mass media.

The more what is contained in that resolution becomes natural to people, the more the quality of journalistic work will improve; the greater prestige of the various press organs will contribute to eradicating the errors and shortcomings affecting production and services for the people, creating headaches for the people and, in general, blocking our people's progress.

Due attention must also be paid to subject coverage and efforts must be made to continue improving our work until a perfect balance is achieved between national and international information and the attention given by the paper to the different spheres of the nation's life.

This should be an occasion for recognizing and making known to you that it wouldn't be fair to expect top quality work from the Granma collective while at the same time neglecting to give the systematic and opportune help you need from our Party, especially the Party's central organs.

We should all feel committed collaborators of Granma and are under an obligation to provide the paper, in an organized, permanent fashion, with the information and criteria necessary for the writing staff to have all the informational and analytical elements to formulate a well-founded, accurate, true and profound approach.

Who sets us an example in fulfilling this duty to the letter is Fidel; in spite of his multiple, complex and exhausting tasks, he always finds time for such collaboration.

Comrades, at this celebration I have emphasized the role played by the official organ of our Party in informing and guiding the masses, but we can't overlook the fact that internationally speaking Granma is the best qualified and most timely spokesman concerning the feelings of our people, and its articles and editorials clearly and unequivocally set forth the stand taken by the Cuban Revolution, the essential lines of our foreign policy and the resolute will of our nation to confront all maneuvers, resist all aggression and properly counter the efforts of our enemies.

Should it be necessary to confirm any of this, the recent work drives on the part of the workers in response to the mounting anti-Cuban maneuvers orchestrated by imperialism and backed by the continent's puppet government and reactionary press, the strong reply we gave from its pages to the gross training invasion, the broad coverage concerning the events that took place at the Peruvian and Venezuelan embassies, the editorials clearly setting forth the Cuban stand and the coverage given to the Marches of the Fighting People would be good examples of the deep respect our people have for Granma.

**WHEN GRANMA SAYS SOMETHING IT IS CUBA
THAT IS SPEAKING, AND CUBA DOES NOT
EXAGGERATE, IS NOT IN ITS ACTIONS
PROMPTED BY SENSATIONALISM, AND
NEVER LIES**

And our enemies also respect Granma, for they fear the sharp edge of its pen, the overwhelming strength of its truth, and its penetrating humor and growing prestige that has forced many to realize that when Granma says something it is Cuba that is speaking, and Cuba does not exaggerate, is not in its actions prompted by sensationalism, and never lies.

Another example that attests to the above is the clear-cut information published so far as a result of the attempts of the Venezuelan Government to bring about one of the most shameful maneuvers ever orchestrated against Cuba, that of releasing the material and intellectual perpetrators of the monstrous crime committed off Barbados. Such information has unmasked the profoundly reactionary nature of that government and that court, and has aroused the indignation of world public opinion that unanimously condemns such infamous behavior.

The official organ of our Party has reached its 15th anniversary in the climax of its activities and the best moment of its life. Its prestige is today greater than ever; deeper than ever is the respect the people have for Granma, a paper that is indissolubly linked to them. For our people and our Party, it is our teacher and our voice.

For over ten of the 15 years, the difficult post of editor of Granma has been filled by Comrade Jorge Enrique Mendonza with an extraordinary sense of responsibility, with absolute dedication, leaving behind each dawn, with the close of a new issue, a bit of his health.

On expressing our Party's recognition for the selfless labor and exemplary modesty of Comrade Mendonza, we extend this tribute to all the comrades in the work collective of Granma.

Many congratulations to you all; may Granma have a long life and many successes.

Patris o muerte! Venceremos!

HART ON ART, LITERATURE AS CLASS VIEW

Havana GRANMA WEEKLY REVIEW in English 12 Oct 80 p 12

[Interview with Armando Hart, member of the political bureau of the Communist Party of Cuba and minister of culture, by Ana Maria Radaelli; date and place not given]

[Text]

● A GREAT deal has been written about culture in socialism. This is quite understandable, considering that art and literature represent a specific social class' world view.

In contrast with art conceived as a luxury for a minority and the subculture imposed by imperialism on those countries under its domination, socialism reaffirms the real values of artistic creation which, based on the most legitimate national traditions, is the result of the work of the masses and is meant for their enjoyment.

Twenty years ago Cuba began its first big cultural battle. It was to get rid of illiteracy in a relatively short time. For the existence of over a million illiterates made speaking about culture utopian.

The creation of a strong cultural movement in Cuba, a country subjected to colonial and then to imperialist domination, was not easy. A long and difficult road had to be traveled to leave behind the past when our country was "a factory without schools or books" and reach a stage when all manifestations of culture are enjoyed by the masses.

We discussed the subject — of great importance to those peoples who have taken their future into their own hands — with Comrade Armando Hart, who graciously answered our questions.

The Cuban Revolution has been defined as the cultural event par excellence. Could you comment on this idea?

Every real revolution represents a cultural event. Revolutionary processes are based on two basic principles: first, the peoples' liberation struggle, that is, the concrete struggle for economic, social and political rights — what we call in Marxist terminology the class struggle — and, second, the evolution of philosophical and political ideas and the evolution of science. The latter factor has played a major role in our country. I'm referring specifically to the development of the political ideas of the 19th

century. Starting in the late 18th century and more specifically since the middle of the 19th century, Cuban culture has been closely related to historical objectives, that is, independence from Spanish domination and abolition of slavery. In the 19th century there was an awakening of national awareness which, in turn, gave rise to a cultural awakening that served to heighten the national awareness. Thus culture was present in the country's political and social life.

October 20 has been named National Culture Day because it was on that date, ten days after the outbreak

of Cuba's first war of independence, in 1894, that our national anthem, the March of Bayamo, was sung for the first time. Our purpose is to show that social action and culture have always been closely bound up with each other in the history of our cultural development. And it was this close relationship that made the 19th century one of great intellectual richness in Cuba.

Its highest figure was José Martí who was not only one of the precursors of the great anti-imperialist struggle but also a precursor of modernism... and whom Rubén Darío called his teacher. And it isn't a coincidence that the greatest figure in Cuban 19th-century politics and revolutionary ideas was also the greatest figure in Cuban culture.

Thus, as a result of this close relationship between the social and the cultural, between the awakening of national awareness and cultural awareness, the 19th century was very rich indeed and paved the way for the further development of Cuban culture.

However, imperialism often tried to divert Cuban culture from its historical roots, a fact that is seen in the case of all peoples under foreign domination.

That is correct. The penetration began at the start of this century and gathered force starting in the '30s. Severing the links was a matter of major importance to imperialism, because the social ideas that existed in Cuba in the 19th century were advanced for their time. It wasn't a question of socialism since at that time this was not recognized as a necessity of society, but still those ideas were indeed very advanced. Cuba was in favor of independence and against slavery.

Neocolonialism used two main methods to undermine these ideas: the corruption of the educational system and penetration through the mass media. And I want to go back to what I said before, that is that the Revolution of 1939 was a cultural event to the extent that it meant precisely an awakening of national awareness.

There's no question that such awareness born a century before was present in the people, but it had been seriously undermined by imperialist penetration. The triumph of the Revolution, this major cultural event, led to a whole series of new cultural events... The triumphant Revolution put into effect very advanced ideas that gelled with the construction of socialist society. The revolution in culture is profoundly humanist. Let us remember that the Preamble to our Constitution states that the fundamental law of the Republic is the full dignity of man. This principle of José Martí is deeply rooted in the core of our Revolution.

How would you define this principle of humanism?

It would be well to define exactly what this principle means since all kinds of myths and falsehoods have been connected with it. To us, the full dignity of man means that millions of people who didn't know how to read or write the word "humanism" can do it now, that millions of people who didn't know how to spell "dignity" are now able to do it... For there are many places where there's much talk about democracy and yet millions of persons are discriminated against because of the color of their skin. To us, the term dignity of man is not applicable just to a few but to all.

The Revolution also meant the liberation of man when it gave him an education, medical care and a decent job. There's one aspect we think is worthwhile pointing out and that is that many countries the world over have recognized that Cuba has had notable achieve-

ments in education, in public health... Let's say that they simply had to recognize these facts. Still, many try to hide other equally important achievements, for example the mechanization of agriculture. And this is an important achievement, it's important that people don't have to cut sugarcane under the conditions they used to in the past. Doesn't this mean the full dignity of man? To some people it may not mean that because they're not

TITLES AND NUMBER OF COPIES PUBLISHED

| Year | Number of titles | Number of copies |
|------|------------------|------------------|
| 1973 | 886 | 31 620 800 |
| 1975 | 851 | 37 709 800 |
| 1978 | 1015 | 33 554 400 |
| 1979 | 1040 | 35 703 800 |

interested in the workers, because to them a worker is not a human being — but to us he is. Freeing work in this way opens new possibilities for people to further their knowledge; they have more free time and therefore more time to study, more time to participate in cultural activities...

Which would you say were the most important achievements in the last 30 years of cultural work?

There were many, but the most important one was, without a doubt, the Literary Campaign and the extension of primary education and later of secondary education up to this vast educational system that comprises all levels and specialties. Only a revolution could make such an achievement possible.

Speaking more specifically, in the fields of art and literature the list of achievements is also long. However, suffice it to say, for example, that prior to the triumph of the Revolution the number of books published in Cuba ran to about half a million a year, while the figure now stands at over 30 million. We could mention many other things, for example the expansion of the library and museum network, the establishment of the motion picture industry, the founding of Casa de las Américas, the establishment of a whole system of art education, the training of art instructors, the development of the Movement of Amateur Artists as well as the development of a strong artistic movement among the children through the Pioneer Organization.

Regarding professional artists, we could mention the founding of a democratic organization which had no precedent in our country, the Union of Writers and Artists of Cuba (UNEAC). We should also mention the artistic brigades such as the Red Colonel García Brigade, composed of young professionals from the art schools, and the Hermanos Saiz Brigade, composed of young artists. We should also mention the New Song Movement and the many festivals and other important events held in our country — those sponsored by Casa de las Américas, for example, which have contributed so much to our greater knowledge of the Latin American intellectuals... None of these things would have been possible without a revolution. The National Ballet of Cuba wouldn't be what it is today without the Revolution.

and the same thing can be said about the National Dance Group, the National Folklore Group and our Theater Movement.

What about the Revolution's efforts to bring out the real value of the cultural traditions you mentioned before?

Bringing out the real value of our cultural and artistic traditions along with the enhancement of our cultural values, that's very important. It can be said with our exaggeration that never before in the history of this country were artists given such recognition as they are given now. Before the triumph of the Revolution, figures like Alejo Carpentier and Nicolás Guillén, to cite only two examples, were underestimated by their society. Today, the situation is radically different. What we're saying now can also be said by our artists, because it's an objective fact that some may deny or ignore, but it exists just the same. We have already pointed out the importance we attach to bringing out the historical values of our culture, of a culture that developed, as we have seen, throughout the 19th century. I think we've done quite a lot in this respect, but we should continue to delve deep into the study and the revival of our cultural roots.

What can you tell us about the Revolution's policy on artistic creation?

In the specific field of creation, there's no doubt that the Revolution gave great opportunities to our artists to develop their talent. As I said before, prior to the triumph of the Revolution the number of books published in Cuba ran to about half a million a year, while the figure now is over 10 million, and I believe that is very significant. The difference between the number of authors who have had their books published in the last 20 years — both established writers and young talents — and the list of the books published prior to 1959 is so great that it's beyond comparison.

Many things are said about our country abroad, but the facts speak for themselves, because the work of the Revolution is reflected in facts such as those we have just mentioned. The countless list is too long to bring up now.

This doesn't mean that we're fully satisfied with the results. A revolutionary is never satisfied, when he feels satisfied it means that he's stopped being a revolutionary! There are still many problems to be solved, but getting back to what I was saying, cultural work is so evident, it's impossible to hide. As far back as 1961, on the occasion of the dialogue between Fidel and the intellectuals and, later, at the 1st Congress on Education and Culture and then five years ago, at the 1st Congress of the Communist Party of Cuba, what we meant by creative work was clearly defined, and the principle is reaffirmed in our Constitution as follows: "Artistic creativity is free as long as its content is not contrary to the Revolution. Forms of expression in art are free." This means that we guarantee freedom of creation as long as it's not contrary to the content of the Revolution, because that would constitute a negation of creative freedom.

There's full freedom of form because the Revolution made freedom of creation possible and supplied materials to all artists, and we can assure that never before in the history of Cuba has there been so much freedom. This, too — and you must forgive the repetition — may be ignored by the ignorant or kept secret by our enemies, but it is an objective fact.

As I said before, many myths and falsehoods have been woven around this subject. The mass media controlled by the imperialists have never said a word about what is meant by grassroots literacy, by earned primary, secondary, technical and university education in this entire country. They never mention the strong Movement of Amateur Artists that embraces every sector of the population, the libraries and houses of culture located everywhere in Cuba or the local councils' and artists' participation in drawing up our cultural policy.

How do they take part?

One of the Revolution's great achievements in the field of culture is precisely that of having artists participate directly in drawing up our cultural policy. How is this done? Through the Union of Writers and Artists of Cuba, the José Martí Cultural Movement and the Technical Advisory Council of the Ministry of Culture, composed of the most representative figures of art and literature.

It's done this way because the Ministry of Culture does not consider itself as having the authority to take any kind of important decision in the matter of the arts without the advice of specialists in that field. Likewise, we cannot apply a policy on music without consulting the musicians, or in the field of the theater without consulting the playwrights.

We challenge all those who slander our country by accusing it of mutilating culture to come here and see for themselves, let them meet with our artists, our writers and our young people in the universities. We challenge them to meet with the students and intellectuals in their own countries the way we've been doing. We challenge them to talk freely with the intellectuals in their countries and discuss cultural policy with them.

It has become very fashionable to use the term "disinformation" in the propaganda campaigns aimed at Cuba and the socialist countries in general.

Yes, but they forget that in many capitalist countries

BOOKS PUBLISHED

| Year | Number of titles | Authors (Cuban) | Number of copies |
|------|------------------|-------------------|------------------|
| 1978 | 627 | 602 | 32 887 000 |
| 1979 | 698 | 608 | 32 479 000 |
| Year | Number of titles | Authors (Foreign) | Number of copies |
| 1978 | 331 | 328 | 9 274 000 |
| 1979 | 342 | 318 | 11 082 000 |

Note: This table includes editions printed abroad.

the entire cultural movement dissects at least on basic issues. It's not a question of just a few. The cultural movement in the capitalist system dissects, from Picasso to Neruda, so only two examples. Neruda was a dissident in the capitalist system and so was Picasso. So what do these propagandists do? Instead

SOME INTERESTING FIGURES

| | 1963 | 1973 | 1975 | 1978 | 1979 |
|-------------------------|--------|----------|----------|----------|----------|
| Theater | | | | | |
| Performances | 1257 | 3255 | 6798 | 7009 | 8944 |
| Audience (in thousands) | 531.8 | 771.4 | 1311.1 | 1367.9 | 1816.5 |
| Groups | — | 40 | 40 | 50 | 56 |
| Dance | | | | | |
| Performances | 243 | 280 | 635 | 444 | 903 |
| Audience (in thousands) | 139.3 | 247.5 | 316.7 | 288 | 612.3 |
| Groups | — | 6 | 10 | 8 | 15 |
| Musica | | | | | |
| Performances | 5892 | 61 162 | 30 225 | 36 366 | 37 104 |
| Audience (in thousands) | 2013.5 | 6485.2 | 9875.1 | 7048 | 7727.9 |
| Circus | | | | | |
| Performances | — | — | 2309 | 1963 | 2847 |
| Audience (in thousands) | — | — | 2827.8 | 1276 | 2115.9 |
| Amateur arts | | | | | |
| Activities | — | 105 600 | 220 400 | 310 900 | 376 800 |
| Audience (in thousands) | — | 21 045.3 | 40 338.3 | 44 333.2 | 41 904.6 |
| Libraries | | | | | |
| Users (in thousands) | 399 | 2595.8 | 4052 | 5371.7 | 5037.8 |
| Museums | | | | | |
| Visitors (in thousands) | — | 637.7 | 1026.2 | 1565.9 | 1321.8 |
| Exhibits | | | | | |
| Visitors (in thousands) | 382.4 | 751.2 | 1112.7 | 1482.3 | 1229.3 |

of mentioning our achievements — and there are plenty of them — there's a big outcry about four or five names. Four or five names that don't reach, even remotely, the intellectual stature of an Alejo Carpentier, a Nicolás Guillén or an Alicia Alonso. No great figure of Cuban culture is outside the Revolution. Now then, supposing there were more than four or five, so what? Supposing there were 100 or 200, so what? There are millions of us living in socialist society! They want us to talk about the dissidents. But we have to talk about our educational system, about our houses of culture — there are already 111 of them throughout the country — about our artistic groups that have been so successful abroad, about our amateur artists' festivals, in a nutshell about the intellectual development of a country where only 20 years ago more than a million people didn't know how to read or write. Why all this hullabaloo over four or five people? It's worth asking why. For those who engineer the propaganda campaigns against Cuba and against socialism don't tackle the problems of intellectual development in their own countries or the problem of setting up a national library network or the many problems involved in playwriting in today's world or the real and concrete problem that the motion picture industry in many — if not all — capitalist countries is flooded with violence and pornography. That's culture? A movie industry that goes so far as to use children for these purposes — and this happens in countries that claim they champion human dignity. What does

this mean? That the current theme of the dissidents is just a smoke screen in an attempt to hide the great problems posed by the development of culture today, in a world where there are millions of illiterate people!

There's one undeniable fact, and that is that the enemy has a powerful machine. Let's not forget that the press, radio and television in those countries are in the hands of the monopolies. In short, they use cultural techniques for anti-culture purposes that denigrate human beings.

Generally speaking, to what extent have the resolutions adopted by the 1st Congress of the Party five years ago been fulfilled?

Generally speaking, we can say that our objectives have been reached and that, as we said before, there have been many achievements. However, there's something I'd like to point out. The 1st Congress theses say that the Communist Party of Cuba's policy on artistic culture is aimed at establishing in our country a climate of great creativity that will promote art and literature, which constitutes the legitimate aspiration of the whole people and is the duty of all political, state and mass organizations.

That is already a fact and, quite likely, one of our greatest achievements: the establishment of that kind of favorable climate for artistic and intellectual work that makes possible the creation and dissemination of art in such a way that creation is the result of the masses' work for the enjoyment of the masses. And that, I repeat, is one of our greatest achievements.

NEED FOR WORK STANDARDIZATION EXPLAINED

Havana GRANMA in Spanish 11 Sep 80 p 1

[Article by Jose Nornielia: "System of Administration and Planning of the Economy"]

[Text] Standardization of all labor operations capable of being standardized and the application of some form of piecework or per-job payment corresponding to each type of work, where possible, are the two principal measures which should be undertaken by all organizations, firms and budget-operated units during the rest of this year and next year to speed up improvement in work standardization and the wage structure.

In the immediate future emphasis, should be placed on achieving basic work standardization in accordance with time standards, specific methods and planned programs in each of our work centers. It is also essential to continue to apply the principle of socialist distribution according to the quantity and quality of work performed.

Among other measures which should be taken are updating all time standards compatible with the spirit of Resolution No 236 and implementing the types of work standards which prevailed in 1976 in accordance with Instruction No 1 issued by the former Ministry of Labor in 1972.

We must preserve our typical agricultural projects and coordinate them with the new terms of the system of payment per finished crop. At the same time, we must promote forms of payment commensurate with the amount of production really achieved. With regard to the building sector, the system of payment per contract should be the general rule.

Urgent Need To Draw up Branch Regulations for Bonus Payments

It is also necessary to draw up branch regulations for bonus payments to speed up their introduction as a powerful factor in materially stimulating workers in accordance with their productive efforts and services rendered.

Companies and budget-operated units should promote internal studies on work standardization to improve that operational phase. The result of these studies should be incorporated in the annual plan for the development of the work-standardization program so that we might enter more deeply into a phase which could be described as the establishment of a basic level of work standardization.

In recent years, the work-standardization effort has been limited by many objective and subjective factors; it has met with difficulties and suffered from many inadequacies. Its greatest limitation in recent years can be traced to the fact that the increase in productivity brought about by the need for increased production did not seek to mobilize our current productive reserves through improvement in work standardization.

Inadequate Wages, Obstacle to Progress of Work-Standardization Effort

Among the difficulties of a general nature on the subject of work-standardization, we can point out the recession and resultant stagnation in the process of tying wages in with performance as one of the most serious. This situation has caused a weakening in the application of the principle of socialist distribution according to the work involved and a lack of concern in introducing basic work standardization in work centers, particularly with reference to piecework standards.

In general, there has been poor performance in the labor and wage indicators, such as productivity, average wage, base wage, cost per production unit and others.

We should keep in mind that the development of work standardization does not constitute an end in itself but rather an effective means of increasing economic efficiency. While plans for the economy do not reflect the possibilities of increasing productivity through work standardization, nonfulfillment of the work-standardization measures adopted for that purpose is also not obligatory.

This limitation is all the more significant in that the mechanisms for moral and material incentives have not been fully developed, thus providing companies with the challenge to put forth all their productive effort to increase their economic efficiency.

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COUNCIL OF MINISTERS ISSUES NEW WAGES FOR SUGAR INDUSTRY

Havana GRANMA in Spanish 15 Sep 60 pp 4-5

[Original paragraphing not followed]

[Text] Introduction

On 14 February 1960, the executive committee of the Council of Ministers approved the General Wage Reform which covers all the economic sectors and branches in the country. One of the objectives of the wage reform is to increase economic efficiency through increased work productivity, with the establishment of organizational measures that make the massive introduction of payment for yield possible. The principle is from each according to his ability, to each according to his work. This also leads to closer agreement between the social interests and the individual interests of the workers.

In order to fulfill the objectives of the wage reform, the introduction of a coefficient of 1.15 for sugar harvest activities has been planned to differentiate the wages in this branch from others. The coefficient is nothing more than a wage increase expressed in a percentage (15 percent) which means that work of equal complexity provides different wages for workers based on the branch of the economy in which they work.

Everyone knows that the economy of our country depends decisively on sugar production which includes, agriculturally, land preparation, sowing, cultivation and harvesting of the cane and, industrially, its transformation into sugar. It is in the interest of the revolution to favor this branch of the economy in order to stimulate increased productivity, efficiency and the short, medium and long-term production quotas and to promote the incorporation, training and stability of the work force in each one of the sugar activity phases.

Along with this coefficient, the new rates of the General Wage Reform will be applied as will payment of bonuses, payment for years of service in

certain jobs and other mechanisms of material stimulation based on payment for yield.

In other words, plans are to increase the wage base of the workers who participate in cane agriculture and the sugar industry by some 100 million pesos. About 42 million will go to the industry and 58 million to all the tasks of cane agriculture, including harvesting.

The increases in the industrial sector will be applied as the organizational conditions required for the application of the General Wage Reform are established. The coefficient of 1.15 for the industry will be applied gradually as the fourth brigade is introduced in each sugar mill.

At the beginning of the next sugar harvest, the application of the fourth brigade will begin in 18 selected mills throughout the country in order to obtain the necessary experience to make the extension of this new labor organization possible. This requires a greater number of trained workers than before.

The wage increases for the agricultural activities of the sugar harvest will be applied at the beginning of the work for the next sugar harvest. In the case of cane sowing, cultivation, fertilization, etc., they will be implemented now to the degree that the cane enterprises create the organizational conditions indicated in the General Wage Reform.

The State Committee for Labor and Social Security and the Ministry of the Sugar Industry in coordination with the CTC (Central Organization of Cuban Trade Unions) and the National Sugar Workers Union have been working since the last sugar harvest on work organization and wage studies in order to incorporate the principles of the General Wage Reform in the coming harvest.

These studies were done in cane enterprises in the provinces of Pinar del Rio, Havana, Matanzas, Villa Clara, Cienfuegos, Sancti Spiritus, Ciego de Avila, Camaguey, Las Tunas, Holguin, Granma, Santiago de Cuba and Guantanamo with the participation of workers, union and administrative leaders and dozens of specialists including economists, engineers, psychologists, sociologists and technicians in work organization and wages. They made thousands of direct observations of the work, statistical analyses of previous periods and direct interviews with workers who participate in cane cutting, reaping and harvesting. Also research done by the Ministry of Agriculture in previous years and the opinions of the technical offices of the agrotechnical and mechanized sector were incorporated in these studies.

In order to apply the results of these studies, the executive committee of the Council of Ministers agreed to introduce a set of organizational and wage measures in the next sugar harvest to permit a more rational use of the work force through the application of work norms adapted to the cane varieties, type of cutting, structure of the fields, distance of transportation and other organizational factors. Also the introduction of new

wage mechanisms for the mobilization of volunteer forces has been planned. The CTC and the National Sugar Workers Union are working on improvement of emulation regulations that specify rates, inspection periods and stimulation mechanisms at the levels where this is held.

In summary, the study covers: manual and mechanized cutting; harvesting with animal power, tractors and trucks; and mechanized reaping and harvesting. Also the collection centers that are part of the chain from the cutter to the mill were analyzed.

There has also been work on analysis of the working and living conditions of the workers in this sector in order to take measures to improve these conditions based on the economic possibilities of the country.

In order to give a more thorough explanation, let us discuss these measures by labor activity.

Manual Cane Cutting

In manual cutting, the types of cane (green or burned), the varieties, the cutting systems, reaping modalities, periods of cutting (leftover cane or not) and yield of the fields were studied.

The studies took into account time for training, time for rest and personal needs as well as time for servicing equipment. This work was done through the means of direct observations of workers involved in manual cutting, reaping, harvesting and mechanized cutting.

In conclusion, it was felt necessary to reduce the variables and establish only four. Concerning varieties, it was decided to differentiate the quotas for Barbados 42231 from the rest of the varieties and to differentiate the quotas for the leftover cane from the other and green cane from burned cane.

We want to point out that, in the past harvest, the wages for cutting green cane increased from 4.64 pesos to 5.36 pesos, an increase of 15 percent in the cutters' wages. Also the studies showed an average increase in quotas for manual cutting of about 10 percent for harvesting by tractor and 13 percent for harvesting by truck. In harvesting by animal power, the introduction of new parameters of distance meant the adjustment of some quotas. In reaping, there was a reduction of the cane quota for collection centers and an increase in quotas for the rest of the cane.

With respect to the combines, an average reduction of 15 percent is planned for cane on less than 50,000 arrobas and an increase of 10 percent for cane on more than 50,000 arrobas.

The application of the new wage rates in the reform means an average increase of 10.4 percent on the wage scale which increases the projected

wages for the cutters to 5.92 pesos. In addition, a coefficient of 1.15 will be applied as in the rest of the sugar harvest activities as an increase for economic and social interest, considering the importance of this sector for the economic and social development of the country. There has been approval for these wages to receive an additional increase of 15 percent compared to the other sectors. By adding this increase to the 5.92 pesos which we mentioned, the wages of the cutter increase to 6.80 pesos. In other words, if the cutter fulfills the quota, he will receive 25.9 percent more wages according to the new quota although this, as we have already stated, is 10 percent larger on the average than the present quota. Although this actually represents a 10-percent reduction in the rates, it will be compensated by the payment of 9.09 percent for rest which, until now, was included in the rates. Therefore, the 25.9 percent mentioned above becomes a net increase.

In addition, the cutter of green cane can also receive a 15-percent bonus (5 percent more than in the past harvest) for fulfillment of the quota and attendance biweekly and 10 percent more for fulfillment of the quota and attendance during the entire harvest (25 percent in total bonuses).

As an example, let us look at payment for 100 arrobas of cane cut before and after these measures are applied.

In the cutting of green cane by technical standards with a yield of 40,000 to 60,000 arrobas per caballeria, the rate per 100 arrobas is: before--2.23 pesos; and now--2.61 pesos.

As we can see, even when the quota was increased, the value for 100 arrobas grew by 0.38 pesos, an increase of about 17 percent for this type of quota. Also, for fulfillment of the quota in the 2-week period, the wages increased by about 15 percent because of the bonuses he receives if he meets the planned attendance and cutting quality.

We should point out that the existing wage of 5.36 pesos includes vacation pay; that is, the cane worker receives 9.09 percent for vacation pay in each payment.

Another important new measure is that, for all the wages the worker receives during the harvest, 9.09 percent will be accumulated. He will receive this at vacation time based on the real time he worked.

In practice, this measure means an additional increase. The worker who meets the attendance requirement and the quotas during the harvest will still receive a bonus of about 10 percent on all wages paid during the harvest.

As an example, we will take a worker who received the 15-percent bonus for fulfillment of the quota and attendance each 2-week period. In this case,

if the harvest lasted 160 days as is normal, he should have worked 128 days if he was present during the entire period. Taking his wages of 6.80 pesos plus the 15 percent he was receiving as a bonus--1.02 pesos in daily bonuses--he will make 7.82 pesos daily.

The wages of 6.80 pesos multiplied by the 128 days of harvest give a total of 870.40 pesos. This was his wages during the harvest (without the bi-weekly bonuses). As we stated before, these wages can be increased by the bonus at the end of the harvest plus the accumulated vacation pay. Let us see an example.

The wages paid during the harvest increase with the final bonus as follows:

| | |
|-------------------------|-----------------------|
| Wages for arrobas cut | 870.40 pesos |
| Biweekly bonus | 130.56 |
| Bonus at end of harvest | 87.04 |
| | <u>1,088.00 pesos</u> |

He has the right to 12 legal days of vacation--that is, 15 calendar days. If he is paid 1,088.00 pesos for the harvest time and the vacation pay is 9.09 percent of this income, the worker will receive 98.90 pesos.

In this case, the worker received 1,000.96 pesos during the harvest and, at the end of the harvest, will receive 185.94 pesos if he fulfilled his social duty expressed by fulfillment of the quota and punctual daily attendance at work.

If we divide this payment--1,186.90 pesos--by the 128 days worked plus the 12 vacation days for a total of 140 days, the worker will have received an average daily income of 8.47 pesos. Compared to the 6.40 pesos he would have received in the past harvest under the same conditions, this means an increase of 32 percent in wages.

Of course, we did not include other possible wage increases in the above example that he can obtain for overfulfillment of the quota.

Wages of Mobilized Cutter

Under the present system, the volunteer cutter has the opportunity to choose the wages of his regular work center with the right to receive the wage difference for the cane cut or he can accept the established rates and systems of payment for the harvest which is known as "go for what the cutter gets."

In the analysis of the results of real productivity achieved with respect to the wages of their regular work centers, we see that, in the last harvest, more than 28 million pesos were paid in wages that were not supported by production. The mechanisms of the Economic Management and

Planning System demand maximum efficiency from the enterprises and these, in order to achieve it, require that the wages paid in the cane enterprises correspond to the quantity and quality of work done by each worker.

Nevertheless, the present system impedes the application of this principle since the establishment of the wages for those workers does not depend on the enterprise that receives the work force. They are determined by the enterprise of origin.

To solve this situation, a new system has been conceived which consists in giving the mobilized cutter a guarantee of 40 percent of his regular wages. Starting with that sum, everything else that he receives in wages will be based on the quantity and quality of the work that he does during the harvest and the corresponding bonuses.

To have a better idea of this measure, we will illustrate it with the same example analyzed above.

In the past harvest, the worker was paid 5.36 pesos daily. Starting in the next harvest, that wage will increase to 6.80 pesos for fields of 40,000 to 60,000 arrobas. In the previous harvest, the cutter received 2.23 pesos for each 100 arrobas; in the next, that figure will increase to 2.61 pesos. In other words, he will receive a 17-percent increase. As can be observed in this example, the decrease in wages is reduced by the increased quota; that is, that increase is a net increase.

A volunteer cutter from any sector who receives, for example, monthly wages of 200 pesos will receive a guarantee of 80 pesos monthly if he agrees to this system of payment. In addition, he will be paid for the amount of cane cut plus the corresponding bonus if he fulfilled the quota. Following the example cited earlier and assuming he has fulfilled the monthly quota, the worker would receive: 6.80 pesos daily for 24 days for a total of 163.20 pesos plus 15 percent in bonuses--24.48 pesos--plus the 80 pesos in guaranteed wages for a total of 267.68 pesos for the month.

This represents a 33.8 percent increase in his wages of 200 pesos by merely fulfilling the quota and attendance.

Independent of this, the workers from the work centers of industry, transportation, services, etc. will still have the option to agree to this system or to cut cane for the wages from their regular work centers. However, in this latter case, they cannot receive the wage difference as before.

In order to further illustrate the new system, we have a worker who opts for it who receives a monthly income of 100 pesos. In this case, starting with the example mentioned above, if he chooses the wages of the harvest with the 40-percent guarantee, he will receive 40 pesos and the corresponding wages for the month which, as we stated above, can reach 167.68

pesos--the scale wages, coefficient and bonus. This plus the 40-percent guarantee would total 227.68 pesos. In other words, this worker can receive much more than twice his present wages by merely fulfilling the quota and attendance.

If the worker joins the harvest for the wages of his regular work center, he will only receive the 100 pesos mentioned above. These examples illustrate the justice of the system that will go into effect with the next harvest.

All the agricultural workers who are mobilized for the harvest will use the new approved system.

Wages of Regular Cutter of Cane Enterprise

In order to stimulate the incorporation and permanence of regular cutters of the cane enterprise itself, there is an additional increase of 10 percent in the daily wages paid for fulfillment of the quotas (without the bonuses) which they will receive in each payment period.

Loading the Cane

In the past harvest, there were two quotas for the loader operators based on the type of equipment used. This situation was solved during the course of the harvest itself and a single quota was established for both cases.

In the present quotas, the cane to be cut was not divided according to technical standards or collection centers. The studies demonstrated that it was necessary to establish a difference in loading cut cane with technical standards and for cut cane destined for the collection centers--that is, with chaff. It was also considered necessary to establish three ranges of yield and, based on this, fix the quotas for the next harvest.

An increase of 24 percent has been planned for loading cane which increases the present wages of the operator from 6.32 pesos to 7.82 pesos. Also when he fulfills the quotas of work and attendance, he can receive an additional 10 percent in the 2-week period which is equal to a total wage of 8.60 pesos daily. This raises the monthly income to 206.40 pesos if he fulfills the quota and attendance.

With respect to loading, the quotas for cane cut with technical standards (separated cane) have increased an average of 10 percent and they have been reduced almost the same amount for cane for collection centers (cane with chaff), except for cane of more than 100,000 arrobas. In the wage calculations, we felt that the median-term worker would not be affected by the adjustments in the quotas.

Hauling Cane (Does Not Include Mechanized Cutting)

In the studies, special attention was given to hauling cane with animal power, tractors or trucks.

Those studies were aimed at analyzing the structure of the use of time for hauling tasks and tasks related to preparation and servicing of equipment as well as time for rest and personal needs. Also the ranges of distance, yield, type of cutting and other technical organizational factors were studied to define the work quotas.

All the above showed the need to reduce some quotas and increase others. There was an average increase of 12 to 14 percent although in no case was the increase more than 18 percent.

The need to introduce bonuses in this activity was also demonstrated.

Because of the above, it was decided to increase the wages of tractor operators from 5.36 pesos to 6.80 and those of truck drivers from 6.64 pesos to 8.28. In both cases, the wages were increased by 25 percent with the possibility of obtaining 10 percent more as a bonus if the established attendance and work quotas were met in the 2-week period. This will increase the daily wages to 7.48 and 9.11 respectively, with the possibility of receiving a monthly wage of 179.52 pesos and 218.64 pesos for the tractor operator and truck driver respectively if they fulfill the quota and attendance.

In hauling cane with animal power, an adaptation of the quotas has been planned based on differentiating the hauling distances. This will have positive repercussions on this task as will the introduction of wage increases of about 25 percent.

In summary, the new wage rates for the workers in manual cutting and mechanized loading are as follows:

| No. | Occupation | Wage Rates | |
|-----|-----------------------------|------------|----------|
| | | Present | Approved |
| 1. | Youth brigade manual cutter | 5.36 | 6.80 |
| 2. | Cutter | 5.36 | 6.80 |
| 3. | Cane burner | 5.36 | 6.80 |
| 4. | Estimator | 4.64 | 5.88 |
| 5. | Cane burner's helper | 4.00 | 5.15 |
| 6. | Loader operator | 6.32 | 7.82 |
| 7. | Grab operator | 4.64 | 5.88 |
| 8. | Load arranger | 4.64 | 5.88 |
| 9. | Manual loader | 4.64 | 5.88 |
| 10. | Tractor operator | 5.36 | 6.80 |
| 11. | Truck driver | 6.64 | 8.28 |

The bonus system for all the labor forces that participate in the cane harvest is based on the following:

a) To increase the biweekly bonus for the cutter of green cane to 15 percent of the wages paid in the 2-week period for fulfillment and overfulfillment of quotas, establishing the fulfillment of the standards of quality in manual cutting as the main condition.

b) To continue the bonus of 10 percent for the cutter at the end of the harvest as an incentive for permanence and productivity.

c) To establish a bonus of 15 percent in mechanized loading for the loader operator and 10 percent for the grab operator and load arranger based on the biweekly wages paid for fulfillment and overfulfillment of quotas establishing the fulfillment of the standards of quality for that activity as a condition. Only those whose quotas have been lowered below the equipment quotas because they work for collection centers are not included in this.

To modify the wage treatment of the volunteer cutters of the CTC mobilized for the harvest, two choices have been given in each case:

a) To receive the wages of the regular work center without payment of the wage difference at the end of the harvest; and

b) To receive the rates and systems of payment established for manual cutting, also receiving 40 percent of the wages received at the regular work center.

The agricultural workers mobilized for the sugar harvest activities will use the latter system.

Also 9.09 percent for vacation pay will be paid to all the workers in manual activities and with animal power based on the new rates.

At present, the rate for these activities includes the 9.09 percent vacation pay. In the coming harvest, 9.09 percent will be added to the new rate to accumulate for subsequent use.

Mechanized Harvesting

Mechanized harvesting received special attention in the mentioned studies where everything related to the time for preparation of the equipment, quality of maintenance, material support for breakdowns and other factors as well as the real time of operation of each piece of equipment were evaluated according to types of cutting, yield per area, size of the fields, leftover cane or not and preparation of areas for mechanization.

At present, the workers in the mechanized harvest receive wages based on a minimum wage of 3.00 pesos with regressive wage rates of 0.7 for each

percentage of fulfillment up to 100 percent. After 100 percent, they are on a 1-to-1 basis. There is also a bonus of 15 percent when the daily quota is met.

The conclusions of the study advised the need to continue this system of payment, introducing a reduction in the quotas for green and leftover cane and areas of less than 80,000 arrobas per caballeria. This provides the chance to receive a 15-percent larger wage in the rate per thousand arrobas and, consequently, to be able to fulfill the quotas and receive the daily bonus of 15 percent.

The present wage scale was raised from 7.44 pesos to 7.64; at the same time, the present bonus will be increased from 15 percent to 20 percent. This makes a total possible increase of 25.4 percent. If we add a 10-percent bonus for seniority to operators with 3 to 4 years' experience and a 20-percent bonus for those with 8 years of work or more, the real increases for years of service and bonuses could be as follows:

| | New Wage With Coefficient | Seniority | 20% Bonus | Total Wages |
|-----------------|------------------------------|-----------|-----------|-------------|
| Under 3 years | 9.01 | --- | 1.80 | 10.81 |
| 3 to 4 years | 9.01 | 0.90 | 1.80 | 11.71 |
| 5 to 7 years | 9.01 | 1.35 | 1.80 | 12.16 |
| 8 or more years | 9.01 | 1.80 | 1.80 | 12.61 |

In other words, an operator with 5 years' experience or more who fulfilled the existing quota in the past harvest (which has been reduced by 15 percent) received 9.65 pesos daily. In the present harvest, he will receive 14.31 pesos, an increase of 48 percent.

We should add that there will be increases of about 25 percent in wages and 5 percent in the present bonus for the rest of the squad which would mean an average direct increase of 30 percent in wages for this work force. With the 15-percent reduction in quotas, this increase is about 45 percent.

In summary, the increases for mechanized cutting with the new wage measures individually, by job, are as follows:

| No. | Occupation | Wage Rates | |
|-----|---------------------------------|------------|----------|
| | | Present | Approved |
| 1. | Operator mechanic | 8.72 | 10.48 |
| 2. | Combine operator | 7.44 | 9.01 |
| 3. | Combine B mechanic | 6.32 | 7.62 |
| 4. | "Panolero de Novia" | 5.36 | 6.71 |
| 5. | "Panolero de Novia Tractorista" | 5.36 | 6.60 |
| 6. | Estimator | 4.64 | 5.69 |

[Continued on next page]

| No. | Occupation | Wage Rates | |
|-----|---------------------------|------------|----------|
| | | Present | Approved |
| 7. | Tractor operator | 5.36 | 6.00 |
| 8. | Sling tender | 4.64 | 5.00 |
| 9. | Truck driver | 6.64 | 8.20 |
| 10. | Mechanized harvest helper | — | 9.00 |

The occupations of clearer of obstacles and combor have been combined under a single job title—mechanized harvest helper—at the new level on the scale.

For the squad chief who now receives 192.00 pesos per month, two wages have been established depending on whether he meets the qualifications for the occupation or not.

Approved Wage Rates

| | |
|-------------------------|-------|
| With qualifications | 10.48 |
| Without qualifications | 9.01 |
| If an operator mechanic | 12.05 |

Payment for years of service (seniority) applies to the combine operator as follows:

| Years of Service | % Bonus on Wages Paid |
|------------------|-----------------------|
| 3 to 4 years | 10 |
| 5 to 7 years | 15 |
| 8 or more years | 20 |

The payment of bonuses to all the workers in the mechanized harvest has continued, establishing the fulfillment of the technical standards of quality established for mechanized cutting as the main condition.

a) Bonus for fulfillment of the daily quota:

| Occupation or Activity | % of Bonus |
|--|------------|
| Operator mechanic and combine operator | 20 |
| Squad leadership personnel | 15 |

b) The payment of a 10-percent bonus will be gradually introduced in the mechanized harvest for the fulfillment and overfulfillment of harvesting for the collection centers. The principal condition will be fulfillment of the established percentage of foreign materials.

In the places where this bonus is being introduced, the bonus granted for fulfillment of the quota will be reduced by 5 percent. In these cases, a

bonus of up to 25 percent can be received by the operators and up to 20 percent by the rest of the squad.

General Wage Reform in Sugar Industry

At the end of the 1960's, a set of organizational measures was adopted in this industry. They included labor and wage stabilization with the objective of achieving greater stability in the work force and the incorporation of new workers in order to respond to the planned increases in production.

Under the conditions created by Economic Calculation, it was necessary to introduce the General Wage Reform in this industry as a suitable mechanism to reinforce the stability of the work force.

Within the framework of the General Wage Reform, studies have been done in 18 sugar units in order to obtain experience to apply, throughout the industry, the principle of distribution based on work, the introduction of the weekly break, payment for abnormal labor conditions in those occupations that require it, payment for night work, the introduction of additional jobs and professions where feasible, etc.

For these reasons, it was agreed to introduce a set of organizational and wage measures in the sugar industry which favor not only stability but incorporation of new labor and increased qualifications of those workers.

In order to achieve these objectives the following measures will be applied at the beginning of the next harvest as the organizational conditions required by the General Wage Reform are created:

1. Application of the planned new rates in the General Wage Reform to all workers;
2. Payment for night work to personnel who work on rotating shifts;
3. Payment for abnormal labor conditions in those occupations that require it;
4. Payment for years of service (seniority); and
5. Payment for additional jobs, etc.

In addition, the payment of bonuses will be introduced to stimulate fulfillment of the sugar production quota and other indicators such as clean bagasse, pure syrup, etc.

The application of these wage measures must be preceded by studies of work organization that permit changes in the unnecessary work force at the sugar mills. This should constitute a large part of the workers who will make up the fourth brigade which we will discuss later. Until this is

implemented, they should do other tasks or take qualification or requalification courses.

The measures that will be introduced will be based on the existence of three large groups of workers:

1. Workers presently stabilized (fixed);
2. Nonstabilized workers (contracted); and
3. New workers.

For the first group, the stabilized, the proposed measures will be applied, except in the cases where the wages now received during the harvest and at other times are higher on the basis of days worked, with the payment of the wage difference to those workers who sometimes hold a job requiring less skill.

By placing workers of this group in other activities outside the enterprise, the wage difference resulting from the wages that they receive for the occupation they hold during the harvest and the wages corresponding to the new occupation that they hold will be respected. They will receive their wages based on the established system of payment.

The second and third groups (nonstabilized and new workers) will collect the wages for the work they do.

The application of the measures and regulations described above permits the establishment of a new integral labor and wage organization which benefits all the sugar workers. It helps create favorable conditions to guarantee the stability and incorporation of the necessary work force to this industry and promotes increased skill in the workers.

a) The new wage rates refer to those approved in the General Wage Reform for all occupational categories, excluding those for technical positions which will be applied once the qualifiers for this occupational category are completed in 1981.

b) Payment for abnormal labor conditions will include all those resulting from the studies at each mill.

c) There will be payment of 0.16 pesos per hour for the shift from 1900 hours to 0300 hours and of 0.08 pesos for the shift from 0300 hours to 1100 hours. This would mean an increase of approximately 15 pesos for all workers who rotate shifts.

d) All the workers of the sugar enterprises will receive an increase in their basic wages for years of service (seniority).

This increase will be applied at an increasing rate in correspondence with the accumulated years of experience: 5 years, 5 percent; 10 years, 7 percent; 15 years, 9 percent; 20 years, 12 percent; and 25 years, 15 percent.

It will be necessary to establish certain rules in order to fulfill the objective of this increase; for example, the continuous nature of the years of work in one enterprise.

e) There will be a 10-percent wage increase for additional jobs. If a worker has the knowledge to permit him to do different jobs during different periods of the year, this is important to the sugar industry. Therefore, it has been decided that:

1. Those workers who have or achieve qualifications that permit their full incorporation during the periods of disassembly, cleaning and repair will have a 10-percent increase in their basic wages paid during the period those qualifications are used.

2. Those workers who are connected with another activity because they have equal or greater qualifications than the fourth group on the scale will have the right to the mentioned 10-percent bonus during the period of use of their qualifications.

f) The regulation of bonuses implemented during the past harvest in some experimental enterprises will be applied to all sugar enterprises with the required adjustments. This will stimulate fulfillment of the sugar production quota and other indicators such as clean bagasse, pure syrup, etc.

In summary, the integral application of these measures will be carried out as the studies are completed at the beginning of the next harvest.

Seen in perspective, these approved measures are within the limits of the agroindustrial complexes and permit a more consistent development of the Economic Management and Planning System. It is indispensable to use this focus in order to understand the positive effect that the approved wage and labor measures have on the economic efficiency of this, the primary industry of the country. The nominal expenses that these represent can be compensated for with the increased production and productivity and the development in general that is expected of this activity.

Gradual Introduction of Fourth Brigade in Sugar Industry

It has been the constant concern of the leadership of the revolution to provide a weekly break for the sugar workers who work on continuous shifts, especially in these years when this activity has lasted longer because of our harvests.

Nevertheless, only now does our country have solutions for this old problem. At this time, there is the possibility of deflecting the workers needed to

complete the fourth brigade toward this activity and the General Wage Reform permits certain wage mechanisms which have little effect on the workers while reducing the work week by 1-1/2 days.

Since the decision to create the fourth brigade in the sugar mills implies the introduction of a new labor organization which requires a logical base for a certain period of time and the necessary work force with the required skills, it was felt appropriate to gradually introduce the fourth brigade without delaying the application of the General Wage Reform (based on the established requirements) as pertains to this branch: new rates, payment for abnormal labor conditions and night work, seniority, bonuses, etc.

In 18 selected sugar mills throughout the country, the necessary organizational studies have been done and conditions have been created for internal promotion of the workers of the mill to supply the required skilled personnel. The introduction of the fourth brigade at the beginning of this harvest and the application of a coefficient of 1.15 that will serve to further stimulate the incorporation and permanence of workers in this activity put this branch in a preferred situation compared to the rest of the national economy.

In the rest of the mills, the introduction of the fourth brigade at the proper time will be accompanied by the application of the coefficient mentioned above which will reduce the work week of the workers from 56 to 42 hours, only minimally decreasing the wage increases that they obtained at the time the reform was applied.

Let us take as an example the case of a worker in the sugar industry who holds the position of crystallization point checker and has been working in the mill for 15 years.

| | Receives Now | | Will Receive With Reform | |
|---------------------------|--------------|---------|--------------------------|---------------|
| | Daily | Monthly | Daily | Monthly |
| Rate scale | 8.72 | 261.60 | 9.12 | 273.60 |
| Abnormal labor conditions | --- | --- | 0.64 | 19.20 |
| Night work | --- | --- | 0.64 | 19.20 |
| | | | | <u>312.00</u> |
| Seniority (9 percent) | | 261.60 | | <u>28.08</u> |
| | | | | <u>340.08</u> |

At the time the General Wage Reform is applied, he will receive an increase of 76.80 pesos.

When the fourth brigade goes into effect, his wage situation will be as follows:

| | | |
|---------------------------|--------------------------|---------------|
| Rate | 1.14 pesos for 182 hours | 207.48 |
| Abnormal labor conditions | 0.08 pesos for 182 hours | 14.56 |
| Night work | 0.08 pesos for 182 hours | 14.56 |
| Coefficient | 15 percent of 207.48 | 31.12 |
| | | <u>267.72</u> |
| Seniority (9 percent) | | 24.09 |
| | | <u>291.81</u> |

Therefore, after the fourth brigade starts, the worker will see his wages increased by 30.21 and his work week decreased by 14 hours, practically 2 days, in comparison with his present situation.

The situation of a paid vacation for agricultural and forestry workers is as follows.

At present, as a result of a practice that dates back to the middle 1960's, the rates for those who are paid for manual work and animal power in agricultural and forestry activities increase by 9.09 percent for a paid vacation for these workers. This is included in the job rate.

The cyclical nature of the work done in agriculture and the reigning system of payment—that is, by the job—meant that the payment periods were short. Consequently, the wage accumulation system for vacation pay was not followed. This was paid with the basic part of the wages.

Due to the socioeconomic development that has taken place in our country since the triumph of the revolution, agricultural workers have employment all year, in one activity or another. Therefore, there is a logical need to take a vacation the same as the rest of the workers in the country. This has been presented repeatedly in recent years, particularly in the 13th and 14th Labor Congress.

It was not possible to respond to this until now since that would have meant a reduction in the income that these workers were receiving biweekly, a difference due to the accumulated income to be paid at the time of vacation.

The application of the General Wage Reform permits accumulation of the 9.09 percent for a paid vacation since these workers receive wage increases of 20 to 30 percent.

Once this mechanism is applied to an agricultural enterprise, the workers who benefit from this measure will receive a vacation and their pay, according to the existing legislation for all workers in the country.

It should remain clear that this measure will be applied in each agricultural enterprise at the time of implementation of the General Wage Reform once each enterprise has fulfilled the organizational requirements necessary for its application.

TERRORISTS, WHITE RACISM, FEWER EXPECTS SEEN MAKING FUTURE BLEAR

Paris LE FIGARO in French 7 Oct 80 p 2

[Commentary by Thierry Desjardins: "Guadeloupe: Fear of the Future"]

[Text] Four bombs in Guadeloupe. One dead. One Boeing destroyed, two boats sunk. The news traveled around the world, and everyone concluded from the report that "this was it," that the rebellion in the French Antilles was beginning and that Martinique and Guadeloupe would before long become independent.

However, when one is in Guadeloupe for several days, things do not seem so simple. The French Antilles: that is very complicated. It is true, there are independentists in Guadeloupe, and doubtless there are increasing numbers of these individuals in this archipelago of 318,000 inhabitants, 54 percent of whom are under 20 years of age, with 98 percent of this group attending school. On the walls of Point-a-Pitre, Basse-Terre, Saint-Francois and Sainte-Anne, one sees hastily painted slogans generally with Creole spelling: "Andependans nasyonal" [National independence], "vive la Guadeloupe lib'" [Long live free Guadeloupe], "Deor les Blancs" [Whites out]. One already also sees the Guadelupian flag, red, of course, with a star and two small green bands.

The independentists also have a thriving organization. The Union for the Liberation of Guadeloupe (UPLG) does not conceal itself, and all of its leaders are known. Attorneys such as Messrs Tacita and Hermantin; professors such as Messrs Thesauros, president of the Antilles-Guyana University Center; and Edenal, director of the UER [?Teaching and Research Unit] of law in Point-a-Pitre; trade unionists such as Mr Mounie of the Union of Poor Peasants; and several journalists. They are a total of 50 intellectuals, masters of thought, who can count on about 200 loyal activists, the young generally, recruited at the university. Altogether, they do not amount to very much.

Moreover, these intellectuals do not hesitate to get their hands dirty. The president of the University Center, an important position if there are any, was arrested the other evening by the police as he was in the process of writing on the walls of a pharmacy, with "his face camouflaged by a woman's pantyhose" (according to the police report): "Long live the UPLG." After spending several hours at the police station like an unruly schoolboy, President Thesauros, who seems to be a professional in independence movements--during the war in Algeria,

he had joined the ranks of the FLN (National Liberation Front)--was released. Today he was booked on a simple police charge of destruction of private property and returned to his office of president.

Added to these avowed independentists are the communists who hold a certain number of mayoralties, in Pointe-à-Pitre and Baasse-Terre, in particular; leftist elected officials; and large part of the clergy. Officially, the Guadeloupian CP, behind its number one man, the mayor of Point-à-Pitre, Dr Bangou, wants "democratic and popular autonomy, with a Guadeloupian executive and legislature, with an independence perspective." During the last PCG [Guadeloupian Communist Party] congress, the young activists had prepared motions which were much more radical in glorification of independence. Bangou, who has a feel for the realities, prefers to speak of "national liberation."

Unfortunately, there are also those who prefer bombs to graffiti. This is the Guadeloupian Armed Struggle Group (GLAG). It has already claimed responsibility for two assassination attempts. The first, on 6 March 1980, against Raymond Vivies, a wealthy Point-à-Pitre businessman and the only white member of the general council, and the second, on 11 July, against the director of the Point-à-Pitre Grand Galleries, Mr Jouandon. On 15 April, the GLAG had claimed responsibility for the arson of radio station FR 3.

However, it still has not claimed responsibility for the four explosions at the beginning of September. Nevertheless, everyone here is convinced that it was indeed the GLAG which perpetrated these acts.

All the more so because the GLAG has published explicit, to say the least, communiques. Under the headline "War on the Intruders in Guadeloupe," it wrote: "The UPLG and the GLAG are assembling to organize the 'red quarter.' A 'red quarter' during which the French living in Guadeloupe are invited to pack their bags before 31 December. Those who, on that date, have not complied will be considered objective enemies of the Guadeloupian people and will be treated as such."

The Atmosphere Is Becoming Oppressive

Let us say at the outset that among the 20,000 whites in Guadeloupe (12,000 Bikes and 8,000 metropolitan Frenchmen), no one attaches a great deal of importance to these threats and these tracts which are racist to say the least.

What really disturbs them is the atmosphere which is deteriorating day by day. Unlike the people of Martinique, the Guadeloupians have never been a very cheerful or outgoing people.

However, this antiwhite racism at present occasionally takes on more disturbing overtones. A few weeks ago, we witnessed an "operation for the recovery of our beaches." At the cry of "the whites are polluting our beaches," a number of black-chased off vacationers who were trying to get a tan on the beaches of Sainte-Anne and Saint-Francois with blows of sticks and stones. In short, the whites--more the metropolitan French than the Bikes, moreover--feel ill at ease; and man, of them have already bought weapons, a very bad thing.

Have the Windward Islands then been caught up in the winds of history? When one listens to the president of the bar association, Felix Rodas, one would be inclined to believe it.

With his sideburns and large benign mustache, he is one of the most senior members of the independence movement. His principal claim to fame, apart from a doctoral thesis written in 1951 in Montpellier on the subject of "Gentleman Glassworkers in Languedoc Under the Ancien Regime," is having spent 169 days in prison following the 1967 incidents. This former confirmed Gaullist, this former UNR (Union for the New Republic) candidate in 1958 whom a disappointment (a seat on the economic and social council which was promised but not awarded) pushed him in the direction of resentment and then toward the most absolute independentism, is positive: "Independence is the only realistic solution to save Guadeloupe where the situation is catastrophic." The president of the bar association then presented figures.

"In 1965, the department covered 50 percent of its imports and produced 185,000 tons of sugar and 165,000 tons of bananas. Today it covers only 19 percent of its imports and produces only 90,000 tons of sugar and 80,000 tons of bananas."

These figures are accurate; however, Rodas failed to mention certain things. First, Guadeloupe was the victim of hurricanes David and Frederick in 1979 and Allen in 1980. "Colonialism" did not do much about it, in large measure limiting itself to indemnifying the victims. Next, in the face of the harsh laws of the world market it should have been admitted that the Guadeloupian banana was no longer the best and that the techniques used, particularly for shipment, were archaic. Quality was then improved and "containerized" export was adopted, limiting the losses at the port of debarkation. Banana experts, if there is not another hurricane, hope to regain the 1979 figures, 135,000 tons, and before long to reach the quota allocated to Guadeloupe, which is on the order of 155,000 tons.

As for sugar, the island's other traditional lifeline, one must yield to the evidence: sugarcane is selling increasingly poorly. The department's five plants were operating at a loss. Therefore, it was necessary to close two of them and modernize the three remaining plants. Baron Empain has just sold the 12,000 hectares of sugarcane he owned here. The SAFER (Real Estate and Rural Development Company) which bought the land from him for over 100 million (francs) expects to bring about real agrarian reform by offering the land to young farmers and by encouraging diversification of production. Experts estimate that the island could become a department engaging in livestock raising, (it imports 40 percent of its meat), vegetable growing (a kilo of tomatoes in Point-a-Pitre costs 25 francs) and fruit production (pineapples, papayas, limes and mangoes will be planted).

The malcontents maintain that this relative abandonment of sugarcane has a dual objective: "to play the game of the sugar beet lobby of metropolitan France and to make more Guadeloupians unemployed so that they can become employees of the Paris metro." Such arguments will hold water. And when the malcontents conclude that independence would make "Guadeloupe a rich country thanks to its bananas and sugarcane," we become skeptical.

Opposing Felix Rodes and his friends is Lucien Bernier and his people. A former senator, president of the general council, mayor of Saint-Francois for 35 years, this socialist broke with Francois Mitterrand because he intended to remain a fierce supporter of departmentalization. He is at least as direct as his opponent: "The independentists say that they speak for the people. But so do I. And I have a considerable advantage over them: I was elected. Let them present themselves, then, against me. Here the elections are free. We are not in Cuba or Chile."

During the last legislative sessions, the PCF [French Communist Party] sent its number one man, Gremetz. Shortly after his arrival, he said: "Guadeloupe will be independent." Result: three RPR [Rally for the Republic] deputies were elected. Ninety percent of the Guadeloupians do not want independence, and they prove it at every election. They are right. Independence is regression. It is enough to take a look at all the neighboring islands which are independent. On Dominica, a domestic earns 120 francs a month. Here she earns 1,200 francs. The standard of living in Cuba is four times lower than our own. Our gross domestic product is 12,250 francs per capita. On Antigua, it is 4,400 francs. Our people have been accustomed to a metropolitan standard of living and will never agree to return to the Caribbean level. That would be crazy. My commune covers 6,000 hectares. At the end of the year, I will be able to count on the fingers of one hand the number of houses which do not have running water."

Figures Which Make One Think

We can see that the debate is not always purely ideological. There are a few figures with which everyone on the island is acquainted and which make the Guadeloupians think when they are alone in a voting booth. Public expenditures on Guadeloupe total 2.101 billion francs. Revenues taken in amount to 568 million, which means that Guadeloupe costs metropolitan France 1.533 billion francs per year; i.e., Paris gives an average of 5,110 francs to every Guadeloupian annually, including the newborn. There are about 200,000 Guadeloupians working in metropolitan France. Of the 90,000 employed persons in the department, 22,000 are government employees. There are 70,000 automobiles on the island; i.e., one automobile for every four and one half inhabitants. Twenty years ago, there were 4,000 automobiles. The infant death rate is lower than that of the Nord department. There is not a single beggar in the French Antilles, a unique phenomenon in the region. And examples can be cited ad infinitum. The Guadeloupians know this, they who witness the daily en masse arrivals of illegals from Dominica, Haiti or Santo Domingo.

Much-vaunted Specificity

Of course, the word independence has charm. Older persons imagine that they are already presidents or ministers and the young that they are ambassadors to the United Nations. But the Antillean soul is complex. Blackness which is dear to Senghor and was imported here by his friend, Césaire, the mayor-poet of Port-au-Prince, has not had much success. In search of their "specificity" (the grand a la mode term), the Guadeloupians prefer Creoleness to blackness. But this Creoleness is hard to define.

One of Theseauros' young students told me: "If we bring up slavery so often, it is perhaps because we want to obtain greater assimilation. An Antillean in Paris is a negro; however, a Guadeloupian in New York is almost a Frenchman. As for me, I had two uncles who were killed in the war. I am of French culture more than African or American culture."

In fact, nowadays, what the vast majority of Guadeloupians fear is not so much a small group of terrorists or a handful of ideologues but rather being turned loose by Paris. Everyone here repeats: "After the 1981 presidential elections, Giscard will find a way to cut us loose. We are costing him too much, and he does not wish to be accused of being a colonialist. After that will come the blood bath, the departure of the whites and misery for the country."

It is said that the president of the republic intends to come to the Antilles at the end of the year. It would be good for him to come and above all to state with great clarity the thoughts of Paris on the future of the Antilleans. That said, the whites are trying to sell their businesses but are not finding any buyers.

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CSO: 3100

PAPER MOCKS NICARAGUAN CRITICISM OF LUCAS' PEACE RALLY SPEECH

Guatemala City EL IMPARCIAL in Spanish 10 Sep 80 p 2

(Editorial)

[Text] We have heard on the radio a Nicaraguan speech, motivated by government touchiness, which found wanting some opinions expressed by the president of Guatemala without pointing out or stating specifically the reason for and nature of its disagreement. Probably, as our colleague PRENSA LIBRE notes in today's edition, it was because the president labeled the Nicaraguan Government a communist regime, which is the name universally given to applied Marxism, although it may be necessary to add certain defining adjectives to it: Leninist Marxism and Leninist-Stalinist Marxism. President Lucas Garcia also said that it had brought that country to hunger.

The speech by the Guatemalan president to the overflow crowd of demonstrators at the Plaza de Armas here was clear and suited the circumstances, aptly interpreting the current situation in Central America, while in our country we were feeling the unfortunate effects of the incredible dynamite attack on Central Park, which indiscriminately threatened both passersby and those who customarily use the park chosen by the terrorists for their attack--a criminal explosion which left many victims, both dead and gravely wounded, as well as large losses, including those of artistic value, such as the stained-glass windows of the National Palace, the work of artist Luis Urruela.

PRENSA LIBRE commented today that those who were paying attention "to the words spoken so energetically by President Lucas--a definition of positions--must have understood that that speech was, in a certain measure, his way of warning that he had understood exactly the significance of last Friday's attack," an exhortation to the demonstrators to defend the institutionality of the nation, since "there have ceased to be any illusions with respect to poetic 'dialog,' and he understands the futility of intellectual parry and thrust as a response to terrorism."

In view of that clear position, the attitude of the Nicaraguan Government, which has recalled its ambassador, Alejandro Castillo Masias, is noteworthy, it being rumored that he was going home to inform his foreign office about the Guatemalan president's speech. One can see an attempt at further alienation, since relations between the two governments are not particularly cordial--much less fraternal--since Cuba does not look kindly upon us. And we have just heard a curious observation about Nicaraguan policy: When there is any doubtful question, difference of opinion or search for a reasonable solution to certain problems, these are decided by a homologous rule: "This is how they do it in Cuba."

Generally the universal method of providing clarification is used--even Guatemala supported that right when it was discussed and decided in the United Nations--since maintaining the unblemished right to free expression of thought, free information and free opinion or comparison of criteria and opinions takes precedence over concerns and arrogance or just plain touchiness, and for that reason we Guatemalans have overlooked certain Nicaraguan expressions of opinion including some official statements, which would have merited timely rectification; the most serious we have observed among brothers was the preferential treatment in Nicaragua of foreigners--such as Russians and Cubans--while other Central American countries were ignored.

And the reason some Nicaraguan official disapproved of the Guatemalan president's speech perhaps might be that in Nicaragua, information has been restricted and there is censorship or repression of the press: The National Reconstruction Government Junta has by successive decrees limited newspaper information; the law forbids mention of candidates for elections, said to be planned for 1985; no mention is to be made of consumer goods shortages; no reference is to be made to possible confrontations with rebels or antirevolutionaries; no information is to be divulged regarding the internal security of the country. Perhaps they have discussed this matter and have resolved it in accordance with the latest fashion: "This is how they do it in Cuba."

Adolfo G. Merino, UPI correspondent, says, quoting a U.S. legislator, that "Soviet military activity in Cuba gives the lie to the old saying that the Caribbean is an American lake," and an article by Mickey Edwards (in "Proceedings of the United States Naval Institute") indicates that "the Soviet Navy has a recent and persistent presence in the Caribbean," and the objectives may be to threaten eventually the maritime routes in that region, to provide well-supplied and well-armed military force to encourage political instability in other countries, and finally, to assure a military presence and acquire capability for eventual maneuvers or as a latent threat.

Our colleague PRENSA LIBRE is right in warning: "After what has happened in Nicaragua and what is occurring in El Salvador, these details should be as transparent as the mountain air. However, the exact significance of the message appears not to have been received."

9735

CSO: 3010

U.S. SUPPORT OF DEMOCRATIC PROCESSES IN REGION UPHELD

San Pedro Sula LA PRENSA in Spanish 6 Sep 80 p 7

[Editorial: "Big Stick for Central America?"]

[Text] The subject of violence in Central America has acquired such importance that at present in Western Europe and the United States it holds first place in public attention.

This was demonstrated once again by the television program aired on 3 September by the important National Broadcasting Company [NBC] network, which devoted a 90-minute documentary during prime time to the present political, economic and social situation in the isthmus.

The program revealed, among other things, the opinions of Ronald Reagan, candidate for the presidency of the United States on the Republican Party ticket; the opinions of Henry Kissinger, former secretary of state of the superpower; and the position of the present administration, as expressed by Warren Christopher, second in command of the U.S. State Department.

The former chief of American diplomacy, considered one of the most skillful diplomats of our time, said that, "what is happening in Central America is extremely serious for us. We have not found any definition, any democratic alternative with which the oligarchies could be replaced to resist totalitarianism, so we are approaching the process backwards."

Mr Kissinger also added: "The process in question, which has spread from Nicaragua to El Salvador, is bound to affect Guatemala and is certain to have an impact on Mexico, which would be a very grave matter for us."

The aspiring Republican presidential candidate, in turn, did not rule out the possibility that, if he becomes president of the United States, he may find himself in the position of having to use force to slow the advance of totalitarianism, repeating the imperialist adventures of the 1920's, when the marines landed anywhere in Latin America to impose Uncle Sam's will. Asked specifically whether he would use direct military intervention in case of an emergency, Mr Reagan replied: "That is a question that no one can answer in advance. The general hope is that it may never be necessary, but I believe a person should never say 'never.' I believe that each situation must be judged in its own context."

Finally, NBC aired President Jimmy Carter's position and that of the present administration, in the words of Under Secretary Christopher, as follows: "The present Central American situation is one of change; it is an uncontrollable and irrepressible reality, and I believe that what we must do is work with the forces of change. Past generations would have countered these pressures with military force, trying to stop the change...."

Some information media, and particularly the voices of the left, believe they saw in Reagan's words a threat that "the big stick," which has been kept in the attic for years, could again be used by the great power up north to crush the extremist groups which are agitating and quarreling in Guatemala and El Salvador.

If one reads carefully, one will see that Reagan said, clearly, that "the general hope is that the use of force would never be necessary," in other words that he--if he becomes president--would exhaust all peaceful means to prevent Central America from becoming a sphere of influence of the Soviet Union. Certainly the time of landings and invasions has passed--except for the USSR, which last year occupied Afghanistan with its military forces and prior to that had taken Cambodia, using the Vietnamese army as mercenaries.

In the Western Hemisphere it would be very difficult to go to such extremes, and for the sake of national peace and dignity, as well as of respect for sovereignty and international law, it is desirable that such a thing never happen here.

In reality, Mr Carter's administration offers, perhaps, the only sensible approach: to support democratic changes, to achieve wealth, development and justice and, in this way, to reduce tensions to a minimum.

If we examine the events of recent history, we will see that wherever the struggle has taken a military form, totalitarianism has won the battle. This happened in Cuba, Vietnam, Cambodia, Nicaragua, Ethiopia, etc.

On the contrary, when nations have decided to transform their structures peacefully, extremism has been isolated. Examples: Costa Rica, Venezuela, Ecuador, Peru, post-war Germany, Japan, Italy (where the largest Communist Party in the West has been defeated repeatedly) and other free countries. In summary: We doubt that Reagan, with his anachronistic policy, will win the election. Moreover, we hardly dare to expect that Carter will win reelection. But if the people of the United States make the mistake of supporting the former film cowboy, he will undoubtedly have recourse to an expedient which is doomed to defeat before it begins.

Finally, the key to the question is whether--if indeed the promoters of violence are moved by ideological reasons and ambition for power--the people support them (or deny them support) when they are suffering from hunger, oppression and other outrages.

When the time comes when there is true peace, freedom, development and justice in our countries, the emissaries of Moscow will be absolutely alone and, as in authentically democratic nations, they can't expect any more results than if they were plowing the sea.

HONDURAS

CTH, COHEP PRESENT VIEWS ON NEW CONSTITUTION

Private Enterprise Menaced

San Pedro Sula LA PRENSA in Spanish 29 Sep 80 p 88

[Text] Tegucigalpa--The Honduran Private Enterprise Council (COHEP) has declared itself in permanent session and in a state of alert "because it feels that the new constitution of the republic infringes on private property and ignores private enterprise."

At the general assembly, which began last Friday evening, most of the businessmen reviewed a document that has served as a basis for drawing up the new constitution, which the National Constituent Assembly has already approved in initial debate.

Further explaining his position, Dr Raul Aguero Neda, the treasurer of the COHEP Board of Directors, said that "our stand is due to the real danger posed to all by the current first draft of the constitution, which we regard as a real threat to the country in general and to private enterprise in particular."

"It is our impression that this country is taking the attitude of 'get off my back because I want to get drunk,' not 'get off my back because I want to work.' Private enterprise is not surprised when a minor party makes it into the National Constituent Assembly to practice cheap demagoguery, to increase its political capital with a well-reasoned, individual vote, but we are surprised when the honorable representatives of our majority parties ignore the real values of this country," he said.

"A few days ago an honorable deputy told me that 'my party is not afraid of legislating because we feel that we have the backing of more than 500,000 votes.' I would dare say that 75 percent of the people who cast those votes will feel sorry that they did so when they see what they are really going to represent when the new constitution is passed," Dr Aguero Neda argued.

The COHEP treasurer said that we have to distinguish between those honest deputies who will oppose certain articles that are harmful to the country because they are familiar with and know how to interpret the scope of the new political constitution, and those who will raise their hands like automatons because they are not capable of making a discerning judgment.

A Ridiculous Constitution

He said that last Friday, when they analyzed a number of articles of the constitution and several regulations, "we had smiles on our faces because we thought that it was a joke. That is how ridiculous the constitution of the republic is.

"On a radio program that focused on university autonomy and private universities, Jorge Arcuro Reina said that 'the National University is the state for education purposes,' and this was seconded by an honorable deputy, who is one of the country's young and trained representatives. In this case, we are looking at a violation of human rights.

"This limits the education of our children to an environment that is not in keeping with the ideas and doctrines that many of us have embraced, without political interference or alien doctrines. We think that no one should deny the autonomy of the National University, but we do not think that Hondurans ought to be limited to or forced to accept an educational environment with those restrictions. Private enterprise predicts serious problems when this constitution is put to a serious vote, if the deputies are going to vote by party bloc, without the grasp of issues that all competent deputies ought to have. We feel that very few of them are competent to interpret the scope of the constitution, and some of them, because of that law, will be in a position to lose what they have now and what they might have in the future."

Private Enterprise and Private Property

The CONEP treasurer said that "according to the interpretations of a number of technicians who are looking into the draft constitution, private enterprise is not regarded as necessary in this country, and what is more, there is a move to ride roughshod over private property. In certain paragraphs you can even read between the lines that there is a desire to destroy even the smallest grocer, thus relegating to the government the right to market food and medicine. Another part mentions the socialization of medicine in general."

He contended that "I sincerely believe that the country is in serious danger, and what is more, private enterprise has to stand up and speak up. We are already in a state of alert because it is better to die on your feet than on your knees, and we feel that the entire Honduran nation must be prepared for the struggle that will be waged to openly oppose this cumbersome constitution. Our lawmakers are forgetting that there are more than 256,000 businessmen in this country, excluding coffee growers, who represent another 50,000, and that if we multiply this number by the average family size, they represent almost a million voters that the political parties are losing out on, and in future elections these voters will have to think seriously about whom they should vote for."

Social Guarantees Reviewed

San Pedro Sula LA PRENSA in Spanish 27 Sep 80 pp 32-33

[Statement by the Confederation of Honduran Workers (CTH) to the Honorable National Constituent Assembly in relation to the "Social Guarantees" section of the new constitution of the republic; date not specified]

[Text] Honorable Representatives of the People:

The National Assembly of Boards of Directors of unions affiliated with the Union Federation of Northern Honduras Workers (FESITRANH) and with the Central Federation of Unions of Free Honduran Workers (FECSITLIN), which make up, in turn, the Confederation of Honduran Workers, met in the city of San Pedro Sula on 20 September 1980 to analyze with the responsibility and high-mindedness that characterize Honduras's Free and Democratic Union Movement, the draft constitution, which includes the section on Social Guarantees, and in particular the following headings: the family, labor and social security, health care, housing and culture.

Organized labor is aware of the lofty responsibility that the honorable representatives of the people have taken on in their binding commitment to promulgate a new constitution of the republic that is fully consistent with the sacred interests of the people, and thus the CTH, pursuant to a mandate from its rank-and-file, has decided to present its views regarding these major social provisions, with the understanding that they will warrant your due attention since they represent the sentiments and thoughts of an overwhelming majority of the Honduran people, the organized workers in our cities and countryside.

1. The Family

We note that the subsection on the family derives from the 1965 Constitution of the Republic but also incorporates new concepts that unquestionably enhance its social content; it therefore deserves our approval. Nevertheless, given the importance of the family as the basic unit of our society, we feel that this subsection should be complemented with the following articles:

Article 10. Children must not be left abandoned. The state shall adopt every precaution for their comprehensive protection.

"Parents are obliged to feed, assist and educate their children. The state shall see to it that these duties are fulfilled.

"Abandonment or refusal to provide support for under-age or legally disqualified children, a spouse or destitute siblings is punishable by law if the committed party is capable of doing so or if he conveys his assets to third parties or if he resorts to any other method of avoiding the obligation."

We propose the following articles to the honorable representatives of the people as aspirations of the workers:

Article No (). Single mothers shall be the object of special legislation, as shall destitute older citizens.

Article No (). The state shall guarantee the legal equality of spouses.

Article No (). The state shall promote and maintain day care centers and nurseries in the most populated sections of urban and rural areas.

2. Labor and Social Security

Most of the 26 articles on labor and social security are from the 1965 constitution, and some are from the existing Labor Code, but we note a pattern of enhancing their social content. Even so, we feel that greater emphasis ought to be placed on these factors because the preservation of the country's social peace depends on them.

In light of these considerations, the CTH wishes to propose the following amendments to the new constitution:

Article 20 of the Draft Committee: 3-a. There must be equal pay for equal work.

Article 4-a. Wages, compensation and social security benefits enjoy a preferential credit claim in the event of employer insolvency or bankruptcy.

Article 5-a. Every worker is entitled to receive a minimum wage set periodically by agreement among the state, employers and workers. It should be sufficient to meet the normal material, moral and cultural needs of the family, in accordance with the type of work, the conditions in each region, the conditions of each job, the cost of living, the relative skills of the worker and the pay scales of the companies.

In addition, a minimum professional wage shall be set for those occupations in which the minimum wage is not regulated by a labor union contract or pact. Minimum wages must be revised annually to keep pace with the cost of living. The law shall govern their revision.

The minimum wage shall be exempt from attachment, compensation and deduction, except as stipulated by law in connection with allowance for board, union dues or taxes.

8-a. Workers shall be entitled to annual paid vacations. In the event of an unjustified dismissal, the employer shall pay in cash, aside from the legally stipulated compensation, for the vacation time taken and the proportional time worked. A worker cannot receive extra pay for working during his vacation. The employer is obliged to grant vacation time, and the worker to make use of it. The law shall govern these obligations and indicate permissible instances of cumulative vacation time.

The amount that is due a worker for his vacation time is independent of the wage that he is to receive in advance for the vacation days that he is to take. The law shall govern this right.

9-a. Workers shall be entitled to a weekly paid day of rest and to the holidays stipulated by the law. If a worker works on his weekly day of rest or on a national or legal holiday, he shall be paid for this performance of service, plus double his wage for the time that he works that day.

11-a. Nighttime work in public or private industrial establishments or in dangerous or unhealthy jobs is prohibited for workers of both sexes under age 18, except in cases in which only the members of a single family are employed, or in the event of force majeure, or in the case of women performing management tasks that do not normally require manual labor and other things expressly stipulated by the law.

12-a. Employers are obliged to compensate workers for occupational accidents and job-related illnesses. The labor authority shall assess the damage caused to the worker in accordance with the new list of disabilities that it shall draw up in consultation with the International Labor Organization. When the accident results in the death of the worker or when the accident or job-related illness causes a total or partial disability, the compensation shall consist of an amount equal to at least 1,000 workdays.

13-a. The right to strike and stage work stoppages is recognized, as long as direct talks between employers and workers have proven fruitless.

14-a. Workers and employers, without distinction as to sex, religion or political philosophy, are entitled to freely establish unions, professional organizations, federations and confederations, without prior authorization, for the defense of their respective interests.

Article 21. The law guarantees job stability for workers, in accordance with the characteristics of the industries and professions in question, and stipulates just causes for dismissal.

If a worker is unjustifiably dismissed, he shall be entitled to damages consisting of the wages that he failed to receive and to the legal and contractual compensation agreed upon, or, if he so chooses, he can be reinstated in his job, with his employer honoring the wages that he failed to receive in the form of damages until his reinstatement takes effect. These actions acknowledged by the law are exculpatory.

Article 24. The law shall govern labor relations for farm, livestock and forestry workers; land, sea, navigable waterway, railway and air transport workers; miners, oil and port workers; store personnel, private commissioned workers and other similar agents; professional athletes; actors and musicians; professionals such as examining physicians [medicos visitadores]; social workers; government blue- and white-collar workers who are not under separate jurisdiction, and mass media workers.

Article 26. The labor jurisdiction to which all judicial disputes between labor and capital are to be submitted is hereby established.

Courts of Appeal and Labor Courts are hereby established. The law shall establish the regulations for this jurisdiction and for the organizations that shall implement them, "under the principle of all due speed in hearing cases under labor law."

Article 29. Workers shall share in company profits in accordance with the percentage that the National Tripartite Commission shall determine. A special law shall create this national commission and stipulate its powers.

Article 30. Under equal conditions, Honduran workers shall have preference over aliens. The law shall set the percentage of Honduran workers for companies or employers; this shall not be lower than 90 percent, except in the cases set forth in the law. The Executive Branch shall be able to modify this percentage when agricultural requirements or the national good so dictate and shall stipulate exceptions for Central American workers under conditions of reciprocity.

No company or employer can pay Honduran workers less than 85 percent of the total wages they earn in their respective companies.

Article 32. Employers are obliged to directly resolve the problems of their workers either individually or collectively. If this procedure does not yield results, workers can resort to legal strikes. The state shall establish mechanisms for their prompt settlement.

Article 33. The state shall contribute to the ongoing technical training of workers and to the enhancement of their cultural and economic level. Its contribution shall represent two percent of the federal budget.

Within the province of their special area of interest, industrial enterprises are obliged to set up schools to promote worker education for the children of their laborers and associates. The law shall regulate this matter.

Article 36. Every person is entitled to a guaranteed livelihood in the event that he suffers from a work disability or is unable to secure gainful employment. Social security benefits shall be paid out and administered by the Honduran Social Security Institute and shall cover cases of illness, maternity leave, family subsidies, old age, orphanhood, loss of work, occupational accidents, occupational diseases and all other contingencies affecting the ability to produce and consume. The law shall provide for the provision of these benefits as long as social needs so dictate. The state shall create aid and social welfare institutions that shall be unified under a single state-run system with the contributions of all interested parties and the state itself.

Article 38. For the benefit of society, the social security system shall be extended to urban and rural workers.

Social security shall comprise family allowances, medical and maternity benefits, disability, old age, death and survivors benefits, occupational accidents and diseases benefits and unemployment benefits.

The law shall regulate the exercise of this right and related procedures.

Article 39. Employers and workers shall participate through their most representative national organizations on the Board of Directors of the Honduran Social Security Institute; they shall have more representatives on it than the state.

Article 41. The state shall protect peasant farmers and to this end shall pass laws and formulate programs in connection with family assets that cannot be seized and that are exempt from all types of taxes; farm credit, compensation and crop loss insurance; production and consumption cooperatives; pension funds; the creation of modern farm technology schools and experimental farms; the construction of irrigation and rural roads projects; marketing and land awards, among other matters.

Article 44. Workers and civil servants are entitled to receive annually and in proportion to their time of service, a Christmas or other bonus. This bonus shall not be less than 100 percent of their last regular straight-time wage or than the average of their last 6 months of contractual pay or fraction thereof if the contract has not been in effect for that period, which does not preclude the gains achieved by workers in labor union contracts.

In addition, employers shall pay their workers a 13th month's wage either in two installments (June and December) or in a single installment for each year of uninterrupted service.

The CTH asks the honorable representatives of the people to include the following articles in the new constitution of the republic:

Article (). In order to enforce labor guarantees and laws, the state shall monitor and inspect companies and, in the event of violations, shall impose the legally stipulated sanctions.

Article (). In line with a full employment policy, a 40-hour work week shall be established for day and day-night work and a 36-hour week for night work (pay shall be for 48 hours), to help eradicate unemployment and under-employment.

Article (). Any existing legal provision that is more beneficial to workers shall be legally enforced.

Article (). Workers shall enjoy paid leave of absence for their professional training at all levels, for their general, social and civic education and for their union education.

The law shall determine the objectives and conditions.

Article (). Worker representatives to companies must enjoy effective protection against any act that could harm them.

Article (). Worker representatives shall have access at companies to facilities that shall enable them to rapidly and effectively perform their functions.

Article (). Permanent jobs cannot be regarded as casual labor, and only permanent workers can be hired for permanent jobs.

Workers must share in the net profits of their companies but must never assume their risks or losses.

Article (). Companies or employers shall include in their annual budgets funds for worker benefits, and they are given a period of 3 years from the time that this constitution takes effect, to meet this obligation. The proper yearly amount shall be deposited in a joint account in the workers' bank, with each worker assigned his due amount.

As long as these funds are not needed by their real owners, the workers, pursuant to the regulations issued, they shall be invested in social programs that directly benefit the workers and their dependents.

A tripartite commission made up of representatives of union organizations, employers and the state shall be in charge of administering this fund.

The CTH feels that it is of the highest importance to include the following temporary provisions:

Article (). The state shall enforce all labor guarantees and laws and, to this end, shall review all labor and social legislation with an eye towards updating and including in it all of the benefits granted by this constitution. An organization made up of government, employer and worker representatives shall be established to enforce this principle.

Article (). A standing tripartite commission shall analyze ratified ILO conventions and the proposals that are to be brought before the appropriate authority in relation with the submission of recently adopted international labor conventions and recommendations.

3. Health Care

We feel that the health care subsection, which consists of five articles, should include the following principle:

--The state shall promote medical care benefits so that workers can regain their health, prevent a further development of disease and alleviate suffering.

The nature and scope of the medical care shall be determined by pertinent legislation.

4. Housing

The housing subsection consists of just three articles, and thus the CTH proposes the following additions:

Article (). Rents shall be part of a general housing policy. The state shall determine the maximum percentage as a frame of reference for appraising rents.

Article (). Housing policy should be regarded as an integral part of economic policy in general, which includes full employment, price stability, a more equitable distribution of wealth and an efficient utilization of production sources.

Article (). The construction of low-cost housing shall be promoted through suitable incentives, subsidies and controls to maintain stable and standard prices that most of the population can afford.

Article (). Companies located outside urban areas are obliged to provide workers with sanitary and sufficiently ample housing if the labor contract stipulates room and board.

Article (). Eviction notices must not be issued unless a worker's transfer to another housing unit has been provided for.

Article (). A tenant must always enjoy guaranteed safeguards. The law shall govern pertinent procedures.

Honorable Citizens:

In light of the lofty standards and the heightened social responsiveness of the honorable representatives of the people, the Special General Assembly of the CTH hereby submits, through my person, the above proposals for debate and subsequent inclusion in the Social Guarantees Section of the new Constitution of the Republic of Honduras.

The Free and Democratic Honduran Union Movement trusts that each of the honorable deputies will support the freely expressed thoughts of our representatives.

We would inform you that the Special General Assembly of the CTH has appointed an Ad Hoc Committee to expand upon, when appropriate, the content of these proposals, pending the consent of this august Legislative Chamber.

Tegucigalpa, D.C., 22 September 1980
Representing the Confederation of Honduran Workers,
Andres Victor Artiles, Secretary General
"National Literacy Year"

8743

CSO: 3010

PART III OF CATHOLIC BISHOPS' RESPONSE TO FSLN ON RELIGION

PA292242 Managua EL NUEVO DIARIO in Spanish 22 Oct 80 p 4

[Third and last part of Nicaraguan Catholic bishops' response to Sandinist National Liberation Front communique on religion in Nicaragua; issued in Managua 17 October 1980; passages enclosed in slantlines printed in boldface]

[Text] Revolution. What Revolution?

3. We Christians want and have been demanding serious and thorough transformations. We are /radicals/, not extremists. We demand revolutionary changes. However, we must always ask ourselves "What revolution are we making and how are we making it?" On what bases and on what values? We demand social justice, but justice is not a "class privilege" of any class over any other. It is a basis for common rights and common respect which does not grant the right for mutual destruction.

Demanding economic justice is dignified and just. Establishing "ideological and class materialism" is something very different.

The problem that the Christian faces is not that he refuses to revolutionize but that he is not able to accept certain principles and procedures which disregard the values of faith and the fundamental sense of man and history. Atheism and materialism are impiety against God.

Could anyone be so senseless as to accuse the church or the Christians or opposing revolutions because they offer culture, medicines and work and production systems which are better adapted to human dignity and social development?

Wars are made and financed by the powerful to assume power.

Revolutions have to be made with generosity and sacrifice by the people themselves, dignifying themselves in their human quality and in their rights to participate "actively and deliberatively" in everything regarding their history. We are on the side of these people and this revolution.

The "poor" are not a /mass [masa]/. We are struggling for their dignity and liberation as sovereign children of God in their nation.

Open Door Toward Interventionism

6. The principle which declares that "the interpretation of religious matters is the sole jurisdiction of the church" (No 6) is abolished if the Sandinist National Liberation Front (FSLN) assumes the right to "interpret which popular religious activities or festivals" are or are not contrary to its revolution. This is not merely a supposition since, according to the FSLN's way of thinking, religion is only "a personal matter" in the sphere of the individual. (No 9).

This concept is not just a private interpretation of the FSLN on religious matters but is at the same time a "political" interpretation. We all know that this concept is inherent in individualistic liberalism and that it has been the source of grave injustices in the social life and against the rights of religion.

Therefore, subjecting religion to these opinions of the FSLN is opening a door to interventionism and political abuse, especially by those who wish to eliminate religion from human life.

In addition to these reasons, there are objective facts which confirm the tendency to "interfere" and to interpret the religious holidays as partisan political events. Everyone already knows about certain plans to substitute the "religious content" of our traditional holidays for content and activities of a partisan political nature, such as the slogans and plans to celebrate the nativity, those already used for the immaculate conception and the patron saint festivals.

Atheistic Proselytism

7. Judging from the declaration which affirms textually that "within the partisan framework of the FSLN there is no room for religious proselytism because it destroys the specific character of the vanguard and causes disunity," it is not interested in introducing motives of disunity due to "discriminations" or religious interpretations. However, how can one reconcile this statement with what is officially and publicly done against the faith and against religion through the official state organs and organizational structures within it? Indoctrination and pressure is carried out by different means and known methods against religious beliefs and sentiments.

Atheism and materialism are beating at the religious door. If being an atheist is an individual right, it is something else to proselytize for atheism from the state institutions and through pressure groups.

Would these not be the "long philosophical discussions" which the FSLN delegation considers unnecessary to attain its objectives? [sentence as published] Or is it that these teachings and watchwords are imparted only to cause confusion?

Religion will provide the integrity of life. It demands free and responsible action from every man on the earth. Religion encourages and liberates man from his own personal affairs, and because of this, far from making him forget the duty to transform and to renew the social structures, it obliges him to do so with meaning and evangelical criticism.

[PA292244] This is a recent situation; the Christians know that. The FSLN knows it. "The Catholic church as an institution" and Christians, "prompted by their faith, participated in the popular victory" over the regime which took away the property and the rights of the people. It isn't necessary to repeat that any more.

To want to limit the church and the duties of Christians to an individualistic plane again is not just an injustice to their revolutionary activities and involvements but an overt affront to their faith, which prompted their activities and involvement.

This is the eternal reason why the weak, the oppressed, the imprisoned, those deprived of freedom and land, the poor and the masses have turned to the one, living and true God who restores their worth as beings and gives them the strength to continue fighting deceit and absolute power.

/Conclusion/

/To the People Their Own/

We have made these observations not just to respond to or to explain the recent /FSLN communique/. In this time of change we are dutybound to offer religious guidelines to the people.

If it is recognized that religious motivation played a role in promoting the revolution, why is religion denied the power and the right to lay the groundwork for new revolutionary structures today? Has there been a break with the Nicaraguan people who claim that their faith is the reason for their joy? If it is a fact that Christians and the institutional church have actively participated in the revolution, who is opposing them now? The church and Christians are not against the Nicaraguan revolution. They are against those who make the revolution's ideology go against the religious feelings of our people.

"It wouldn't be fair or sensible if, after so much bloodshed and sacrifice, the value of life and humanity involved in a genuine liberation were again forgotten." (Bishops' 30 July 1979 message).

"Stand fast therefore in the liberty wherewith Christ hath made us free, and be not entangled again with the yoke of bondage." (Galatians 5:1)

Managua, 17 October 1980, day of Saint Ignatius of Antioch, bishop and martyr
[signed] Nicaraguan Episcopal Conference

CSO: 3010

EDUCATION MINISTER ON TEACHERS' STRIKES

Lima CORREO in Spanish 15 Oct 80 p 4

[Text] A severe warning was issued yesterday by the minister of education. It was directed toward teachers who threatened to paralyze educational activities.

Minister Luis Felipe Alarco said that in the event of strikes, the laws will simply be enforced.

Then he warned: "If they strike they will definitively not be paid."

Yesterday, after several weeks of absence, Alarco met again with reporters assigned to cover the government palace.

He spoke at length and most interesting was his statement concerning his relationship with the Single Union of Education Workers. (SUTEP)

Alarco thinks the situation among the teachers is calm and the main problems have been solved.

On the other hand, he reiterated that for the time being it was impossible to meet their demands, because of lack of funds.

Alarco proposed the teachers should work in order to get paid and observe the following system: Work on summer and implementation courses to be offered next year in September and November.

The education minister summarized the situation as follows: If one does not work, one does not get paid.

He said there is no problem otherwise, at least he does not have any, in recognizing SUTEP and that the situation is being studied by a special commission.

He also stated that negotiations with teachers are still going on, even at the ministerial level.

Alarco also emphatically denied the rumors regarding his departure from the ministry on Abancay Avenue.

CSO: 3010

MONTES DE OCA CHALLENGES CALDERA'S POSITION IN COPEI

Caracas BOHEMIA in Spanish 15 Sep 80 pp 6-9

[Text] The COPEI [Social Christian Party] intraparty battle is now joined. Montes de Oca has jumped into the ring, where until now only the former president, working out with his followers, held sway. Things have changed, and this report unveils them.

It was a warm, serene, mid-July night in San Cristobal. The young fair-haired man behind metal-rimmed spectacles, short-stature, cool, down-to-earth, and devoid of emotionalism in manner and speech, spoke clearly and incisively: We must now choose and virtually launch, or prelaunch, the COPEI leader who is to be the candidate to continue the work of Luis Herrera Campins [LHC]. The one who spoke this way is Edgard Flores, somewhat over 30 years of age, and general secretary of COPEI in Tachira, a state that is certainly linked to the germinal tradition of the current governing party.

The man had just made a speedy return from the United States, spurred by a nocturnal conclave that had been held a few nights before in the home of the then recently appointed Governor Ildefonso Moreno Mayo, where unanimity had spread like wildfire--without anyone knowing in fact who had proposed it--around one name: Rafael Andres Montes de Oca.

Also present at that meeting were: Nestor Solano, scarcely over 20 years of age and already secretary for organization (of the Regional Committee) and head of the green contingent in the Legislative Assembly; Luis Largo, who for his surname lacks physical height but who in battle lacks no fight, and who headed LHC's campaign in that region; Erasmo Ochoa, Camilo Granados, Perez Vivas and, in short, the youthful upper echelon of the Andean traditional enclave.

"But we cannot stop at having agreed, nor at having decided: We must launch him, at once!" one of those said later over the steaming black demitasses being savored by the group in the inviting atmosphere of the highest

regional official's private residence. Approved unanimously! Signed, sealed and delivered! We must contact without delay the most immediately available journalists. The next day, the Tachira correspondent of a Caracas daily and our colleague Francisco ("El Gocho") Guerrero Pulido, managing editor of the San Cristobal LA NACION, were strategically invited to a dramatic announcement, which indeed it was. Expressed or "rendered" in plain homespun words: COPEI was dispensing with all nonsense and lining up behind its star figure, Rafael Andres Montes de Oca, the charismatic "Pepi."

The "bomb" had been dropped in San Cristobal. It would not be the last.

In the Home of Bello

Miguel Bello's home is one of the most attractive on Valencia's Avenida de Circunvalacion, on the outskirts of the city, in a suburban community surrounded by refreshing greenery, beside the Colegio La Salle. A significant adjacency?

Dona Flor, the genteel wife of Miguel, is one of the most active leaders of that state's COPEI, but at no time does she put aside her home-loving virtues: an exquisite hostess, she prepares the most delightful dishes and does not permit any of her guests to be served by other than herself.

Well, in the Valencia home of the Bellos, almost in convivial simultaneity with San Cristobal, another no less symptomatic and newsworthy conclave was taking place. Present were "all the leaders" of Carabobo's Herrerasistas--that is, most of the regional COPEI executive lineup. Present also was Governor Raul Gomez, an architect with a neatly trimmed goatee, who is very well liked by everyone because of his warm personal simplicity: he rides the buses, makes unannounced official visits, conducts his personal affairs himself, etc.

Here, the "bomb" was more complete and encompassing, and its orchestration was entrusted to none other than the president of the Municipal Council, Armando Celli Giuni, of the branch of the Valencia Cellis that also has its very prestigious AD [Democratic Action] ramification. This COPEI-ist Celli who could formerly be counted among the supporters of ex-President Caldera, is also, like his "white" cousins, a respected "green" leader in the old and dense metropolitan center. His bombastic proposal was unequivocal: it was "Pepi" all the way. That is, he proposed the interior minister's candidacy for national secretary general of the COPEI in 1981, against the incumbent Eduardo Fernandez, who aspires to reelection; and called for the selfsame Montes de Oca's candidacy for president of the Republic in 1983.

Almost the entire Regional Committee exploded in favor of this integral proposal, which seemed to offer a menu that included everything under the sun.

But in this case the Valencia leaders had no sooner finished their coffee than they brought their highly successful meeting to a close and dashed off to lay "Hands To The Wheel"--notwithstanding that this little slogan is a current stock saying of former President CAP [Carlos Andres Perez], the favorite target of wrathful outbursts by the Calderaists.

In any case, there was no lack of jesters who ascribed the stampede to fear that Dona Flor de Belle would, as she frequently does with her guests, coerce them into a game of football or baseball on one of the respective fields adjoining her home.

Lunches and the Clock

"Hands To The Wheel" did not remain in the realm of words. A high-level strategic mobilization was immediately initiated at the two launching platforms: the western and the central. Valmore Acevedo and Donald Ramirez left by plane for Tachira. Other passengers on the flight recount that it seemed to them they had overheard Valmore, today one of the leaders closest to the president and the prime minister, telling Donald in an anecdotal vein about a certain scolding he had received during a wedding reception, from ex-President Caldera, who was seemingly fit to be tied, because of some statements the former COPEI secretary for municipal affairs had made. That pronouncement of his, published in one of the newspapers, had presumably set off the Herrera-Pabloist offensive in a series of coldly calculated moves.

Meanwhile, on the thoroughway he had so often driven as a tauromachy buff of yore, Cesar Perdomo, political bullfighter who has proven himself in a hundred rings, sped toward Valencia in his modest automobile filled with leaders as distinguished as he.

The central-western pincers began to close in tightly from the two key coordinates in COPEI's geostrategy. While Valmore Acevedo, ex-governor of Tachira, and the deputy and former secretary general of the JRC [COPEI Revolutionary Youth] operated behind the scenes in their elegant Andean manner in Tachira, Cesar for his part, in Carabobo's precincts, and in his unfailingly open collar and aggressive and straightforward style, was bullfighting the left, playing the bulls, so to speak, with slow, simple, close-in and well executed passes. Both faenas--the Tachira one and the Valencia one--were destined to culminate in estocadas without puntilla and a circling of the arena after receiving both ears.

From another quarter, a coincident ceremonial obligation added its contribution to the geopolitical design for prelaunching Montes de Oca: As minister of interior, he had to attend the ceremony in San Cristobal consecrating the assignment of Monsignor Arellano Moreno as bishop of San Carlos (Cojedes). "Pepi" went there, and, by way of further coincidence, traveled together with whom others but Valmore Acevedo, Donald Ramirez and Cesar Perdomo.

In the capital of the border region, he was received by COPEI-ists and independents alike with an enthusiasm that resembled an acclamation. But before leaving Caracas, asked by reporters what was going on, he had responded with one of his cryptic messages: One should not lunch at breakfast time. The interpreters and/or targets of this new message (similar to the previous one: "We are now talking through photos") would now have to add to their studies in photology a crash course in chrono-gastronomy.

Others, meanwhile, are thinking that Montes de Oca, good outdoorsman and accustomed as he is to hearty early morning meals, is now making a hearty lunch of them all. Especially now, when, rid of the encumbrance of a useless gall bladder, he finds himself in good physical shape and ready to enter the ring--assuming he has not already entered it.

But it is not entirely a question of gastroenterologic chronometry. Also included is a new political geography. Or rather, a geographic strategy. For, while many observers thought the Herrera-Pablo-Pepi-ists would fire their rockets from their launching platforms situated in the famous "Bermuda Triangle" (Lara-Portuguesa-Barinas), the native lairs of the most powerful figures in the government, or in Yaracuy, which is also a zone of influence of Miraflores's "Cogollito" bordering on the Caldera homeland, they are actually launching their missiles from the bases least imagined would be used: Tachira and Carabobo, the first of these the cradle of COPEI's ancestral lineage, and the second its newest electoral bastion.

The logistics of the initial attack is tending to disconcert the adversary and encompasses extensive old- and new-world zones in COPEI's mapping: the latter two indicated above, those of the mentioned triangle, the also mentioned one of Yaracuy, and, in a certain way, Trujillo, the land of Pedro Pablo, who, despite his apostolic names, has not been able to forget the wounds of Parque Central.

Calderalism, which had been shadow boxing alone in the ring, perceived the danger: Montes de Oca had climbed through the ropes and was advancing with solid steps. It had to seek a tactical fall-back or at least a deferment of the encounter. Aristedes Calvani, the able and veteran trainer, recognizing the risks (careful of those unexpected strikes from Tachira and Carabobo!), opted for declaring a suspension of the fight: Candidacies within the COPEI were, for the moment, impertinent.

But already, his pupil, Jose Curiel, a good engineer, not content with having revealed months ago a Caldera electoral apparatus, had considered it justifiable to respond to the Montes de Oca proclamations with a gerontophilial statement picked up by reporter Alfredo Pena: "Why invent youngsters? Caldera is the man for 1983!"

A local caricaturist came up with a biting comment: There are two candidacies: the "impertinent" one and Caldera's. Former Foreign Minister Calvani folded his hands and remained silent. But those who like to lunch early recalled that the supporters of Calderalism, when the founder of COPEI was president, also considered Luis Herrera Campins's electoral prolegomena "impertinent."

Meanwhile, what was "Pepi" doing? Far from letting those highly "spiced" early morning lunches he was served in San Cristobal and Valencia upset his cool or his digestion, he proceeded to calmly assimilate such an itinerant balanced diet. And, agreeing with Luis Herrera, he sustained that any candidacies were in fact untimely. For some experts, the man from Carmelitas is still being sibylline in his utterances. And what he is not saying is more significant than what he is saying. Amen. There will be no further publicized "rounds" for now. "Pepi," according to the experts, has won the first round.

Developments are now taking place within COPEI's traditionalist sector. Eduardo Fernandez recognizes that his hopes for the immediate future--and certainly they are understandable--have been scattered to the wind by the Calderalist decision to serve up the same dish again, that of the former president, making his turn at a highly hypothetical third successive COPEI government more than difficult. If for a debatable second one the fight will call for the energy of a young lion--and the going will be far from a lark--how will things be for 1988? The prospects are now extremely remote.

Besides, not only are the severe warnings of the Parque Central speech echoing in the ears of Pedro Pablo: Oswaldo Alvarez Paz may become a new porpoise (some say he already is) and the line of succession also includes Jose Curiel. In politics, new developments, no matter how fluid, surprise no one. Thus, the more sophisticated analysts are showing not even a sign of surprise to know of the dialogic soundings going on between Eduardo and Pedro Pablo Aguilar and between the former and Montes de Oca.

Weights and Measures

In the opinion of experts, there can be no doubt as to the intra-COPEI confrontation: Two Rafaels are in the ring and no one will get them out of it. This is what the fans on both sides are saying. Now on an equal footing under the rules, Rafael Andres's supporters assert, the decision will be entirely up to the jury--that of the Social Christian presidential congress.

While punches are being traded back and forth, with those gloves on of course that characterize the fine art of democratic political boxing, the fans are making calculations, formulating predictions, eyeing weights and measurements, and placing their bets.

Mr Rafael Caldera was born in Yaracuy on 24 January 1916. He is 64 years of age and will be 67 at the time of the hardest fighting and the heaviest travel demands. Illustrious academician, born in San Felipe, Yaracuy, he came to Caracas as a very young child and is in fact considered a notable of the capital, educated in the exclusive San Ignacio school, from which other COPEI scions of the same political lineage would emerge: Lorenzo Fernandez, Calvani, Lara Pena (founder, now retired), Eduardo Fernandez, Jose Curiel, among others. His colleagues see him as a great leader whose presence inspires an almost sacred respect which instead of attracting--they say--estranges; they look up to him with the reverential fear accorded to Great Masters whose opinions constitute orders and whose policy is rigid, immutable, and applied step by step, inexorably.

The same experts in COPEI idiosyncrasy, on the other hand, believe they see a distinct and contraposed hemisphere in the political agility of Rafael Andres Montes de Oca, a pragmatic man whose natural simplicity attracts and wins people over. Born 16 June 1930, he has just turned 50, the age of presidential hopefuls. His age when the time comes will be more or less the age at which Caldera himself, Carlos Andres Perez, Betancourt and Leoni all rose to the presidency. He was born and was brought up in the province, and it was not until 1976 that he came to settle in Caracas, to head up, like a meteor, LHC's victorious campaign. Brought up in a middle class family, he studied at La Salle (of Barquisimeto), the alma mater of LHC, Garcia Bustillos, Luciano Valerio, Rodolfo Jose Cardenas, Abdon Vivas Teran and others.

The COPEI-logues are wont to ascribe to this scholastic separation a special significance from the standpoint of social classes--upper and middle--and of fundamental philosophies: the products of San Ignacio the conservatives, and those of La Salle the liberals. From their scholastic diversity, the same experts are now drawing additional differential considerations: Caldera was able to devote himself full time to his university studies; Montes de Oca had to interrupt his studies in his third year of law, when his father died and he had to work as salesman, livestock breeder's helper and farm hand to support his brothers.

Caldera was always one of the leadership; Montes de Oca came up from the bottom. Caldera was a public prosecutor, president of the Chamber of Deputies, and president of the Republic, besides secretary general of the party. Montes de Oca, at the age of 16, was secretary general of COPEI in Lara, then council president in Barquisimeto, four times a deputy, government secretary general, and governor.

Caldera's orthodox rigidity, the experts add, projects from the national ambit into the international. Montes de Oca is, in both areas, a man of pragmatic, realistic openmindedness with neither personal grudges nor sectarian prejudices.

In sum, there stand the two gladiators confronting each other in COPEI's internal battle. The remaining forces watch with interest while waiting to take the appropriate action once the question of who shall be the governing party's standard bearer in the forthcoming elections is resolved.

VENEZUELA

LEFT UNABLE TO UNIFY, PETKOFF, RANGEL INTERVIEWED

Caracas BOHEMIA in Spanish 15 Sep 80 pp 28-32

[Report on interviews with Teodoro Petkoff and Jose Vicente Rangel, by Jesus Seguias; place and date of interviews not given]

[Text] The Venezuelan left is once again showing its weaknesses. It has in the face of several opportunities taken it upon itself to save the nation in the latter's hours of difficulty. But it has always arrived too late, after others had already filled the void, or so early as to be overtaken by the tedium, the fatigue, that has indicated it had chosen the wrong moment to intervene. We might say that the Venezuelan left has never risen exactly to the historic moment it was to have exploited. It has risen higher or lower but never to precisely the right height.

The nation's current political and economic situation has now presented the left with an opportunity such as has rarely come its way. The conjuncture--as the leftist intellectuals like to call it--is favorable. AD [Democratic Action] and COPEI [Social Christian Party] are now experiencing bitter moments. The government as well. The nation is demanding viable alternatives. Many could say, "There is the left."

But no, be under no illusions. The left is also, enthusiastically and once again, disposed to throw in the towel. It is not prepared. It still has to debate important matters. For instance: Is or is not Jovito Villalba of the center? Has or has not Martinez, the cockroach, something on which to sit? Let this not alarm you: These are favorite issues of the left in the nation's most trying moments.

BOHEMIA, with reference to the start of the electoral campaign in Venezuela--what a record!--has interviewed the two future precandidates of the left with the best potential: Jose Vicente Rangel and Teodoro Petkoff.

Time, the Conspirator

Jose Vicente Rangel

[Question] Jose Vicente, there are those who think that the time factor is working in favor of your candidacy, that, inversely, it is conspiring against Teodoro Petkoff, and that hence the MAS [Movement for Socialism] has decided to move up its debate on the candidacy issue to now. What do you think of this?

[Rangel] I think the important thing is not what I think about it; what is important is what the others think. If MAS considers it desirable to debate now the name of the candidate, when and as long as that debate is unitary, participative and democratic, I have no problem with its being held right now. I have no problem whether it is held now or later. I am agreeable to absolutely everything, and the others may set the rules of the game, when and as long as these rules provide at least a minimum guarantee of participation and are genuinely democratic; and as far as the time is concerned, I repeat, if they want it to be now let it be now; if they want it to be later, let it be later.

Teodoro Petkoff

[Question] What do you think of the electoral issue, especially amid indications that you are launching a prior campaign within MAS to capture legitimately, like any other citizen or any party member, the nomination to be MAS's presidential candidate? What do you think of this situation?

[Petkoff] I am not going to commit the hypocrisy, so characteristic of too many Venezuelan politicians, of saying that for me the candidacy issue has no importance whatever, that it is secondary, and that it is not an issue that interests me. No, I believe the presidential candidacy is in a way the key or one of the keys to the political processes. I do not consider the question of the candidacy a secondary one; nor do I take the hypocritical position toward it, I repeat, of saying that it does not interest me. Yes, it does interest me, and very much so. We have not opened the debate in MAS; and in the most recent meeting of the National Directorate, its, let us say, most important and almost sole decision dealing with electoral matters was the one arrived at unanimously--I repeat, without a single vote against it, by all the members of the National Directorate--to propose to the left as a whole, at the most appropriate moment for a debate on the candidate of the left, the name of a MAS associate; that is, a member of MAS, one of MAS's leaders.

Jovito Villalba and the Center

Jose Vicente Rangel

[Question] One of the most recently commented political moves of the left, by one component of the Venezuelan left, has been your approach toward certain sectors that leftist political leaders call the "center." Regarding those sectors, which might include Jovito Villalba, the URD [Democratic Republican Union] itself, and some independent sectors: Do you actually position them within that conception of the center, and would you be now in the process of preparing a center-left policy to be presented to the nation as an alternative?

[Rangel] I do not want to get involved in a Byzantine debate of the kind that seems to appeal so strongly to certain sectors of the Venezuelan left, ignoring the facts of life with respect to this problem of the center. We have had political leaders here suddenly saying that the country cannot go on splitting itself between left and right. And I agree. As I would also agree if at some point they should say that neither can the center be accepted as such. Well, following that line of reasoning, if there is to be no right, no left and no center, we could then also accept that in Venezuela there are no social classes, that in Venezuela there are no political and ideological alignments, and that we Venezuelans live in a kind of political limbo.

[Question] Excuse me, Dr Rangel. When you refer to those politicians who say that in Venezuela there is neither a right nor a left, would you perhaps be referring to what Teodoro Petkoff said on one occasion when he expressed that concept?

[Rangel] I am not referring to him specifically. I am speaking in general terms, because in fact there have been persons who have made that statement, with which, I repeat, I am not taking issue as a matter of honor. For me, the important thing is that the left define a proper and precise policy of alliance. A policy geared solely to the left has no place at this time.

For me, the important thing is that we be able to offer a governing alternative in 1983. Now then, there is a vast number of Venezuelan men and women who are in need of a message, who have been oscillating between the AD and COPEI, precisely because the left has no policy in their regard, no message, and moreover provides no specific appeal to them to participate, because that "useful fools" policy, that policy of using people as mere signers of public declarations and documents, and as contributors to dinners and funds, is now entirely a thing of the past. The people want to participate at all levels and, when invited to participate, they want to be able to participate in the selection of the presidential candidate, in the drawing up of a platform, in the day-to-day actions of a campaign and of an electoral policy. Otherwise, the people are not interested.

Actually, there are in reality, in practice, millions of persons who we could say, if we wanted to, are the center in a country with a middle class, with a very acute middle class mentality, and who, over and above such characterizations as--let us assume--exist, are a concrete reality toward which the left has thus far addressed no policy.

Now, if recognition of this fact is to be merely an exercise in differentiations, in instigating polemics, in setting up demarcations between political figures and parties, I do not intend to go along with that approach, because it is a totally antiunitary approach and I do not go along with anything that is antiunitary for the country at this time.

Teodoro Petkoff

[Question] Teodoro, do you believe there is a political center in this country?

[Petkoff] The political center is nonexistent. What is known as the political center from a party standpoint was swept away by the mechanisms of a two-party reality. All those political forces called URD, FND [Democratic National Front], FDP [Popular Democratic Force], Civic Crusade, have disappeared, swept away--disappeared not only electorally speaking but also legally speaking. The only thing that has remained in ultraprecarious existence is the URD, and this is owing mostly to the weight Villalba still exerts in Venezuela, which is moreover very meager; he is today a flyweight in Venezuelan politics. Note that it represents the anachronistic view of the left, the one we broke away from when the MAS was formed.

We should recall at this time that we at that time refused to join the New Force because we knew it was a plan based on forces, on a waning trend in our society. We are simply being consistent with our own plan and have no reason to turn back. What we have seen in these 10 years is how the center has gradually become extinguished, how we have consistently refused to continue using the center as a crutch for the purpose of creating a separate and independent socialist movement, to make of it an alternative. Now that the left has reached the stage in this country where the center no longer exists--where what exists is the AD, COPEI and the Left--now they come forth with a plan full of cobwebs, to tell us that what is needed is to revive the center, to take up that crutch again and transfer the political center of gravity from the left to that so-called political "center." It is true that in Venezuela there are millions of Venezuelans who are adherents of neither the AD nor the COPEI and who vote AD or COPEI and are what we might call the victims of the disappearance of the center, because they no longer have an option and are therefore the prisoners of the two-party mechanism.

[Question] Do you believe the left can, by itself, break that polarization and become an alternative now for the Venezuelan people--and I say "now" because of the special set of circumstances you yourself mentioned just a few moments ago?

to avoid generation of a vacuum. Well now, the policy of convergence that I am revindicating and that is an essential feature of the MAS plan is a policy that must take all these factors into consideration: the Armed Forces, the economic sectors, Catholics, in sum, the vast expressional spectrum that is the Venezuela of 1980.

Teodoro Petkoff

[Question] Do you think the same as Jose Vicente Rangel? Do you think the party institution in Venezuela is in crisis?

[Petkoff] I have been hearing talk of the crisis of political parties almost from the time I entered Venezuelan politics, and when now, on my recent trip to Valera, I lived the moving experience of seeing a member of COPEI, who had been with the party 32 years, break down in tears as he explained to me that he was leaving COPEI to join MAS, I truly came to realize that belonging to a political party in Venezuela has for too many people a connotation that goes far beyond what many people suppose, namely, that belonging to a political party is like belonging to a soccer club. There are still too many people in Venezuela who make of militancy or of party membership an existential choice. Now, it is true that the parties are having problems. Parties like the AD and COPEI are in a profound crisis, and a crisis that is very much the cause of popular loss of confidence in what they offer; but the fact that the AD and COPEI are in crisis does not mean that the party institution as such is in crisis. What I read here and there these days regarding the crisis of the parties appears to me extremely superficial and banal. Whoever is writing about the crisis of the parties must certainly be looking around for a party he can hitch up to for a political career or to prolong his political career. For, frankly, if I thought at this time that the party system is in crisis I would be doing anything but looking for a party in which to continue in politics. The party institution as such is inseparable from democracy. For a party to be in crisis does not mean that the institution as such must also be in crisis. MAS is not in crisis; on the contrary, what MAS is undergoing is internal processes that have produced a development of the socialist party institution, which to me appears noteworthy; it appears to me a revolution in Venezuelan party life.

Are There Differences Between Teodoro and Jose Vicente?

Jose Vicente Rangel

[Question] What fundamental differences separate you from Teodoro Petkoff and MAS?

[Rangel] I have no personal differences with anyone....

[Petkoff] The way you have phrased your question would seem to imply that there might be another distinct alternative to the left in the Venezuelan political scene. I can tell you that the very authors of the center-left plan themselves say the center must be created because the center does not exist; whenever they speak of the center they speak only of Jovito Villalba. Is that the country's political center? Jovito Villalba?

[Question] Is it your view then that the country is at this point in time thinking in terms of the need for a socialist revolution?

[Petkoff] That is too summary a way of putting the question. What the adherents of the left have to face up to is the fact that today there are AD, COPEI and the Left; there is nothing else. Therefore, in view of the responsibility that has been placed on it by destiny, because of the country's political developments, the Left, under these circumstances, must say: the time is now, to offer the country a way out, to be not only the country's moral conscience, but to offer it a viable governing plan that the country can feel is its own. This is what it is all about; all else is but fantasy, illusion, political spiritualism.

The Party System: Its Finest Hour?

Jose Vicente Rangel

[Question] Dr Rangel, as regards that policy of national convergence that should cross the boundaries of the leftist movements: Does it imply a questioning of the party structure in Venezuela?

[Rangel] It is precisely because of the crisis the party system in Venezuela is undergoing--a crisis of participation, of real representation--that the Venezuelan people are working out their own organizational forms. We see how the most diverse organizational forms are proliferating at all social levels throughout the country. For example, what is occurring in the vast urban world of today's Venezuela: how neighbors are organizing to work out their own problems, their own revindications, because party policies do not reach them and have no true direction; what is happening with the small and medium producers in the cities and rural areas, who have generated a vast movement in connection with the concrete problems they are having, a movement that is much more powerful even than many parties in Venezuela, for when those sectors bring 7,000 tractors out on the road they summon with a stronger voice than many of the nation's parties; and what is occurring, for instance, among the youth in the districts--how this youth is organizing in direct, spontaneous forms, through theater groups, sports clubs, cultural groups, which are concerning themselves not only with sports, cultural and theater activities but also with revindication, because in the absence of party policies they are acting

[Question] I specifically said fundamental differences, of a political or theoretical nature....

[Rangel] With MAS I have been partaking of the MAS plan right along, provided the intent is not to sacralize that plan, transforming it into a kind of sacred text, a Koran or a Bible, requiring in that case some first-rate clergymen to interpret it. I subscribe fully to the general lines of that plan, whose basic feature has always been the idea of convergence. The policy I am advocating, and with which I believe many Venezuelans identify today, is precisely a convergent policy.

[Question] Does Teodoro agree with that approach?

[Rangel] I do not know. Teodoro does not enter my field of concerns.

Teodoro Petkoff

[Question] Teodoro, it is being said that Jovito Villalba is the one who has pointed up the differences between you and Jose Vicente. Is that true?

[Petkoff] Well, yes. It is a very important difference. Our plan, which is the same one of 10 years ago, the same one Jose Vicente says he partakes of and that he has partaken of over the last 10 years, is this: Develop a revolutionary force of our own in Venezuela, a force that does not have to depend on crutches, a force that can be the center of gravity of the opposition, of the system and of the government. Now that is a strategy; I use the word "strategy" and I hasten to add its definition: It is a plan for the long term, a strategy. We have pursued a strategy for 10 years. I recall that 10 years ago MAS was a tiny group and that it is owing to a strategic plan that has guided us in adjusting tactics to our basic purpose, and from which we have never deviated, that we are what we are today. We, especially, have no reason whatever to turn back to formulas we discarded as far back as 1973--absolutely no reason to. Our entire political effort is based on a conception of Venezuelan life that is neither political nor electoral scheming, but rather an analysis of our society.

Is Unity Becoming Remote?

Jose Vicente Rangel

[Question] MAS has indicated that a unitary accord without MAS would be meaningless. Furthermore, its intent is to propose to the left a candidate from its own membership. Would the left accept a MAS militant as its sole candidate?

[Rangel] The problem is to determine the candidacy that will be the most agglutinant, the most nucleating, the most unitary, whether that candidacy be from within a party or from outside a party. If it is within the

intents and purposes of a particular party to want, based on this precept, to impose a candidate from its own membership, that is very commendable; but the problem lies in persuading the other parties, which can also advance the same argument for their own candidates, to accept this initiative. On the other hand, I believe that what you have said is true: Unity without MAS would not be unity; however, unity without the rest of the left is also not unity. But I believe even further that unity of MAS and the left without the rest of the country is also not unity.

[Question] If MAS, for instance, were to choose Teodoro Petkoff as its candidate, and the rest of the left refused to accept him, would you accept the candidacy for the rest of the Venezuelan left?

[Rangel] I would first have to see the terms under which the hypothesis you are advancing presented itself....

[Question] You do not entirely discard it...?

[Rangel] I would have to see the terms of reference. If that circumstance were to result from faulty methods used by MAS in managing the situation, defying the unitary sense of the country and of the left, I would have to study the matter in all serenity and thoughtfulness; if, on the contrary, a MAS candidacy of the type you have indicated were to be refused by the rest of the left as a result of errors committed by the latter toward MAS, or the development of an anti-MAS sentiment, I would again have to study the situation in detail; because I am not at the service of anti-MAS policies under any circumstances; nor can I lend myself to MAS policies against other sectors of the Venezuelan left.

Teodoro Petkoff

[Question] In the case that a MAS militant were not to be accepted by the left as its candidate, and the left were to propose an independent or another militant from its membership, and if that candidacy had the agreement of the majority of the left, would you accept it?

[Petkoff] Well, in the first place, let me set forth the following, because implicit in your question is the idea that a party's candidate might be insufficiently unitary. The question should not be phrased in the manner you have just phrased it; it must be phrased differently: It must be phrased bearing in mind that if MAS is going to present the name of one of its leaders as a candidate, it will not be with the intent of saying to the rest, "Here is the candidate. Kneel before him." It will be with the intent of debating his candidacy. MAS would also expect sufficiently serious consideration to be given to that name, because the problems of unity today cannot be debated without taking into account MAS's role and importance. We have no intention of imposing anyone, and it seems

to us in very bad taste to talk of a party that has on two occasions fielded an independent as its candidate, to talk of us, in terms of hegemonic intentions. I would say that today the left should think carefully in regard to a certain conception that is going the rounds in rightist circles, according to which depolarization must be stimulated, maintaining two-partyism however, which would mean stimulating all those hot-air candidacies that are not based on a party organization, that being everyone's are in fact no one's, and that do not represent the development of a force linked organically to the country.

[Question] And in the case the left were to propose Jose Vicente Rangel as its nominee for the candidacy, how would your group view his nomination? Could it be considered as being definitely rejected by MAS?

[Petkoff] Well, I imagine that since Jose Vicente has that image of the perennial candidate--he has built up that image himself--his name will be debated when the time comes. What we are not going to do is debate it within MAS. Now, I imagine that as a component of the left as a whole we will debate it, but obviously we will already have a name of our own to submit to the debate. I do not think he need be too distressed; his name is there. He is already in the game.

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